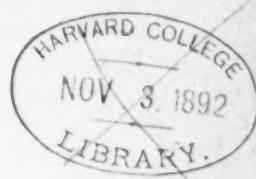


DEC 21 1892

FROM THE BRITISH POINT OF VIEW.

THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, New York, should find purchasers in America. The eye of its editor marks all that is notable in the contents of English religious periodicals, and, to the extent of the containing capacity of his monthly, he takes it, not in snippets, but bodily, from head to tail: the authors being "solely responsible for the opinions expressed in their articles; the editor for the propriety of giving them a place in the magazine."—*The Rock*, London, September 28, 1892.



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OF
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VOL. VII. NOVEMBER, 1892. NO. 2.

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The authors are solely responsible for the opinions expressed in their articles; the Editor for the propriety of giving them a place in the Magazine.

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NOVEMBER, 1892.

No. 2.



THE GREAT PHILANTHROPIES.

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.

From *The Review of the Churches* (London).

III.

THE REGENT STREET POLYTECHNIC.

WHEN I was called to work in London, more than fifteen years ago, and began to look round me upon the conditions of social life, especially among the poor, nothing struck me with more painful force than the comparative—I should scarcely exaggerate if I said the all but absolute—neglect of the youths of our great cities. The efforts to reach them were for the most part feeble, local, spasmodic. After a short residence in London I ventured to invite many of the leading clergy of the metropolis, as well as

some laymen known to be interested in the question, to a meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber, over which the Earl of Shaftesbury readily consented to preside. The object of the meeting was to consider what further steps could be taken to promote the welfare of young men. In his speech on that occasion Lord Shaftesbury, with all the weight of his beneficent experience, made an important remark, new to me at the time, and one which I have never forgotten. He said that, by the unvarying testi-

mony of police authorities with whom he had been in communication, the cases are rare in which a criminal career is ever



MR. QUINTIN HOGG, FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT.

adopted except between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one. Lord Monkwell is reported to have said, "One hundred and sixty-nine out of every thousand of the boys trained in the largest industrial school in the kingdom get into the hands of the police within three years of their dismissal." If boys and youths could, during that period, be subjected to religious and moral influences, and safely tided over that dangerous time of life, it becomes a reasonable certainty that they would never swell the deplorable aggregate of the criminal classes.

Continuing to be impressed by the importance of increased efforts in the direction of service to the young, at the first meeting of the London Diocesan Conference in 1883, I moved a resolution for the appointment of a Committee "to promote, whether by new or existing agencies, the welfare of young men engaged in business and workshops in the metropolis." The Committee was appointed, and the Duke of Westminster was its Chairman. We held fifteen meetings in St. Margaret's Vestry : we communicated with the secretaries of various societies, with the heads of the metropolitan police departments, and with a multitude of the clergy and eminent laymen. In 1884 we presented to the Council an elaborate report. Struck with the evidence accumulated, and the considerations

urged upon their attention, the Conference requested the Committee to form a permanent Council, and to keep in view the ends which we have endeavoured to promote. The Council still continues its labours, and though it has always been hampered by lack of funds—having, indeed, been mainly supported by the single-handed munificence of the Duke of Westminster—it has rendered assistance, both by advice and by contributions, to many parochial institutions, and may point with pride to the "London Seaside Camp for Poor Boys" as one direct, valuable, and we trust permanent, outcome of its exertions.

In these discussions and endeavours we made constant reference to the great work of Mr. Quintin Hogg, from whom we received much important and sympathetic advice. The Regent Street Polytechnic is the pioneer effort on a large scale to supply a crying need, and to furnish a model for work of which the national importance can hardly be exaggerated.

I. As it is our wish in these papers not merely to chronicle results, but to stimulate to fresh exertions all earnest lovers of their country and of their fellow men, I will first insist upon the urgent necessity for such work as this.

Excluding those who belong to the upper and middle classes, it has been roughly esti-



THE BIRTH-PLACE OF THE WORK.

mated that the youths of London between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one now number at least 250,000. From statis-

tical tables, founded on the census returns of 1881, it appeared that the number of males in the London diocese between the



THE STEPPING-STONE TO THE POLYTECHNIC.

age of fifteen and twenty-five was 234,962, and it was curious to find that there were about fifteen per cent. more male children in the east than in the west district, in proportion to the total male population. If children under fifteen years of age be excluded, it appeared that youths over fifteen form almost one-third of the entire population, since of the total male population only about one in six attains the age of 45. Agencies and institutions of all kinds have been multiplied in this decade, but there is still reason to believe that multitudes drift into the pauper, the dangerous, and the criminal classes, who might have been rescued from a career so injurious to society by kindly and wise influence. After all that has been done, it is certain that thousands are lost to all that is good by the fact that during the period of their lives in which the stress of temptations is most powerfully felt, they have met with none who were both willing and able to guide them in straight paths. The Church of England has the blessed rite of confirmation to reach her growing boys at a critical period of their career, and other religious bodies have something analogous to it. The preparation for it is invaluable to many, but it is often the *last* strong personal religious influence which is brought to bear upon them. Many boys are never presented for confirmation or Church membership at all, and it is a universal complaint that agencies by which we could *retain* a satisfactory

hold upon youths after they leave our National and Sunday Schools have hitherto been non-existent or inadequate.

It has been estimated that as many as 12,000 young men come to London every year from the country, and are compelled by the necessities of their work to live at a distance from their relatives. Consider their condition! They are lonely; they are absolutely their own masters; they are more or less without guidance or friendly counsel; they are at the most impressionable age, when the passions are strongest, and the strain against the duty of self-denial is most intense. They live in crowded houses and cheerless lodgings, often dingy, dreary, and uncomfortable, in which their room is much preferred to their company. They are surrounded by overwhelming temptations; they have at hand few or no amusements except such as are at once cheap and immoral; they are confronted on all sides by forms of unbelief which undermine the sense of moral obligations; they are forced to live in over-crowded neighbourhoods, or amid deplorable surroundings which conduce to low habits; they are compelled to pass much of their time in places which are the worst possible schools of morality and manners; they are driven by the necessity for exercise, by the craving for recreation, by the dreary conditions of their daily work, to resort to low

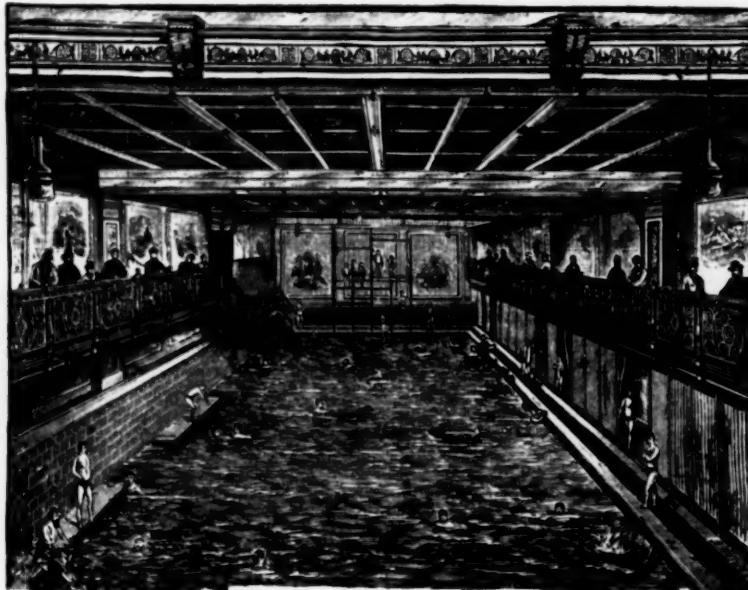


MR. J. E. K. STUDD, HON. SEC.

theatres, music-halls, Saturday night sing-songs in public-houses, dancing-rooms, drinking saloons, betting and gambling

hells—or to wander aimlessly “in the twilight, in the evening, in the black and dark night,” about streets of which some are declared to present a spectacle of shamelessness more unblushing than can be seen in any other European capital. And this, which is true of London, is at least equally true of many others of our densely populated cities. Does not England incur an immense responsibility if she is indifferent to the needs of this army of her young? A nation may waste many things without irredeemable loss; but the waste of splendid

Much is now being attempted on every side to supply these needs. Every clergyman, every minister of religion who is in earnest, is trying to do what he can for the younger members of his flock. We have among others the Young Men’s Christian Association, the Church of England Young Men’s Society, the Young Men’s Friendly Society, the Birkbeck Institute, the City of London College, the King’s College Evening Classes, the People’s Palace, the Turnverein, the Recreation and Art Classes, the Free Public Libraries, the Clubs and



THE POLYTECHNIC SWIMMING BATH.

human material is a waste of that which is most precious of all that the world contains; and it can never be repaired.

Now the needs of youths in cities are mainly fourfold.

First, they need homes or some substitutes for home, where social cheerfulness, and virtuous female society will not be impossible. Secondly, they need opportunities for vigorous recreation, to provide a healthy safety-valve for the tingling energies of youth, and the effervescence of animal spirits. Thirdly, they need opportunities for self-culture and intellectual growth. Lastly, they need, perhaps most of all, that of which they least *feel* the need—opportunity for religious teaching and moral guidance.

Homes for working boys, the Reformatory and Refuge Union, the many youths’ guilds and institutes, and gymnasiums, the innocent and useful parochial concerts and entertainments. But if we allow that there are as many as 50,000 young men, more or less loosely connected with one or other of these agencies, how large is the margin, both of rough youths of the poorest classes, and of others in a better position, who are left untouched? It still remains in great measure true that “we have provided for the working-classes churches and schools, but have left it to the devil to find their recreation.”* The nation spends ever-increasing sums, amounting to millions of

* Canon Miller.

pounds a year, upon the education of her children ; but when she has given them the mere rudiments of teaching, she practically turns them loose and unaided into the burning, fiery furnace of the streets, and makes chance the arbiter of their future destiny.

There are, for instance, multitudes of clerks and young men in business driven into the suburbs by the centrifugal force which nightly empties the city, and brought back by the centripetal force which refills it during the hours of labour. They work late, and never attach themselves to any institution. Twelve years ago a Kennington vicar, the Rev. H. H. Montgomery, now Bishop of Tasmania, endeavoured to find out the names of all the youths lodging in his parish. He wrote to them two hundred letters with his own hand, offering them at least his good-will, and any services by which a clergyman might be of use to them. It was found that the young men had *compared* the letters, in all of which there was some small variation, in order to make sure that they were not lithographed ! For many Sundays afterwards his Church was crowded with young men, and the letters which he received in reply were full of interest. Many expressed their surprise that he should have heard of them, and showed that they were grateful for such notice. "I know few persons in this part of London," wrote one youth ; "my existence

more resembles that of a hermit than anything else." The tone of not a few of these letters was, "I had no place to flee unto, and no man cared for my soul." Is not



MR. ROBERT MITCHELL
(Secretary from the foundation).

this an illustration of the remark that "nearly everybody will help to save a boy's life, but how few help to make it worth living"?



THE POLYTECHNIC GYMNASIUM.

Can we exaggerate the importance of the work? "We must prepare for the coming hour," says a great statesman. "The claims of the future are represented by suffering millions, and the youth of a nation are the trustees of posterity."

II. The "Regent Street Polytechnic, and Young Men's Christian Institute," as it is one of the first, is also one of the largest and most flourishing institutions for carrying out the work of which I have been trying to indicate the necessity. Like all worthy efforts, it has had "germinant and springing developments," and must be regarded as the primary attempt, which, by its success and usefulness, has led to the foundation of many similar institutions. It may even be said to have called national attention to the importance of taking strenuous measures to provide for the welfare of the youth of those great and ever-growing cities which are, at this moment, the most salient feature of our civilization. Such cities have been called "the graves of the *physique* of our race;" they may, without due care and wisdom, too easily become the graves also of its *morale*.

In my last paper I pointed out two characteristics which seem to mark all the noblest philanthropic work. First, it originates, almost without exception, in individual self-denial; secondly, it grows into gigantic proportions from small and almost insignificant beginnings. Both characteristics are found in the life-work of Mr. Quintin Hogg. He has himself been the *par^s maxima* of all that he has accomplished. He has been set apart for it by that providential guidance of circumstances which, to a true man, is "like the hand of invisible consecration laid upon his head." He has cheerfully devoted to it his time, his energy, his fortune, and though, as far as he is personally concerned, he would gladly have been one of "those nameless benefactors who lay down their gifts at the gate of humanity, and depart unrecognized," his reward has come to him unsought. He has experienced the truth that "nothing is fruitful but self-sacrifice," and his name will be conspicuously recorded among the names of those who, by honourable service, have largely helped their fellow-men.

Mr. Quintin Hogg was an Eton boy, and in 1863 left Eton, not only with strong religious impressions, but also with the desire to help other boys and youths who were, by their conditions, immeasurably removed from the advantages which he had himself enjoyed. Belonging to the class of merchant princes, and with the prospect of ample

means, there was nothing except the impulse of a generous heart and the call of Christian love to prevent him from living that life of selfish ease and ambitious effort which is thought not only harmless but estimable even by thousands of those who are not quite small enough to sink into mere idleness, luxury, and vice. Something had taught him the bliss of well doing, and the conviction that

"The high desire that others may be blest
Savours of heaven."

His mission work among boys began in the Adelphi arches in 1864. The first house—of which we furnish a sketch—was taken soon afterwards in York Place, Strand. In 1866 the first Home for Working Boys in London was opened in York Place as an adjunct to a small ragged school which he had already established, and to which he regularly devoted the leisure of his Sundays and his evenings. Personal influence always tells. It is the only thing that will tell with youths, as has been so strongly illustrated in the cases of General Gordon and of Dr. Barnardo. It is a God-given power, which it is most difficult to find or to evoke, and the rarity of it accounts for so many failures. When a man is very much in earnest, he will not be daunted by the most trying experiences. Not long after the Ragged School was founded, Mr. Hogg was summoned from bed one night by a message that the boys were in open rebellion. Huddling on his clothes, and hastening to the dingy room, he found that, amid wild uproar, the gas had been turned out, and the lads were fighting the police with fragments wrenched from the pipes. Another man might have given up the enterprise in despair; but Mr. Hogg found, to his surprise, that a few words from him immediately stilled the tumult, and reduced the young rebels to discipline. After that he was rarely absent from the schoolroom for a single night.

The school was so absolutely a ragged school that the boys sometimes came all but naked, with their mothers' shawls pinned round them. They were mainly the mud-larks of the Thames, Bedfordbury, Newport Market, and Westminster. They were largely collected by Mr. Hogg himself from the barges on the river, Covent Garden, Punch's Holes, and such places. Three nights a week, from 11 p.m. to 3 a.m., he used to go out and gather boys into his ragged school, where they slept on the floor, and he on the table. With the school much mission work was connected, such as a shoe-

black brigade, a class for flower-girls, and so forth. Yet at this time Mr. Hogg only had an allowance of 30s. a week, and had to be responsible for all money spent.



THE POLYTECHNIC BOATING CLUB.

The little Ragged School rapidly grew, and, being valued became a free night school for boys. The whole status of the boys was uplifted, and for the sake of those whose sole chance of amendment lay in new environment, he emigrated to Canada and the States some hundreds of lads whose surroundings were hopelessly vicious. In all, during his ragged-school days, he sent abroad no less than 1,500 boys. Many others were apprenticed at home. Ten years elapsed, and Mr. Hogg felt that he was no longer able to do justice to the elder boys—who were by this time apprenticed, and were learning trades—by keeping them at a night school. Further than this, the respectability which they had developed tended to frighten away the rougher element which he desired to reach. He therefore invited thirty-five of these youths to meet him one evening, and the result of that meeting was the formation of the Institute. This Institute, in its turn, began to grow, till in 1877 there were 200 members, of whom 130 attended the Sunday Bible Class. He then moved to Long Acre, where the numbers grew to 300, 400, 500, year after year; the difficulty being, not to find applicants, but to admit the numbers who applied. It was during the Long Acre stage of its growth that I first visited Mr. Hogg's Institute, and, at his request, addressed the youths. Fresh classes in science, art, and other subjects were provided, and a gymnasium and a coffee-bar were started. In 1881 the premises in Long Acre had become, in their turn, hopelessly overcrowded, and in the December of that year, Mr. Hogg, with

splendid generosity, purchased the Regent Street Polytechnic. The actual members of the Polytechnic, who now pay 12s. for the immense advantages offered them, have risen to the astonishing number of 3,500, and would be still more numerous if the accommodation admitted. The entire number of youths, and now also of young women, belonging to the Polytechnic and its classes is 13,000. Since its inception fully 70,000 young men have come within the sphere of its influence, and have benefited indirectly or directly by its agencies and opportunities.

The work of the Polytechnic is admirably many-sided. It would be impossible to give an exhaustive account of all that is done, but it may be ranged under the five heads of (i.) Social; (ii.) Recreative; (iii.) Athletic; (iv.) Intellectual; and (v.) Religious. Not one of these is superfluous. They all work together to the furtherance of a high and common end.

1. *Socially* the Polytechnic provides hundreds of youths between the ages of 16 and 23 with some friends, and with many associates, who desire, like themselves, to combine for wholesome purposes, and to be kept from the paths of the destroyer. A few years ago a well-meaning lad in London might be suicidally lonely in his too often poor and comfortless lodging or bedroom. It is now possible, nay, easy for him to find congenial comrades, animated by the best spirit of an honourable community, who will try to lead him *from* mischief, not into it.

2. It is wise to provide youths with



THE POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL OF COOKERY.

recreation pure and simple. We all need it. Some poet says,

“ Sweet recreation barred, what doth ensue
But . . . moody and sour melancholy,
Parent to dull and leaden-eyed despair?”

The bow must sometimes be absolutely unbent, and youths want games, quiet as well as vigorous; and books, amusing as well as instructive. Chess and draughts, and conversation, and the daily, weekly, and monthly journals and magazines, together with refreshments at moderate prices, are furnished in the rooms at the Polytechnic set apart for the promotion of genial intercourse. In these ways the youths get to know each other, and a feeling of fellowship grows up among them. There is, for instance, a Parliament at the Polytechnic numbering three hundred members. It meets on Wednesday evenings, and serves as an admirable debating society, conducted on the strictest Parliamentary lines. Dr. Lunn, who generously devotes every evening to work among the youths, has been elected Speaker. I am informed that the Liberal party is at present in power, the Conservatives are in opposition, the Radicals and Social Democrats sit below the gangway. There are coalitions and *coups d'état*. A distinct labour party has recently come into prominence, and the fluctuations of sentiment are profoundly interesting, as indicating the state of political feeling among a body so large as the clerks and artisans of the metropolis.

3. For intellectual and technical training there is a large and carefully-planned provision of classes for clerks and artisans. The clerks have opportunities for instruction in English, French, German, penmanship, typewriting, typography, elocution, and all analogous subjects;—for the artisans there are teachers in almost every branch of the applied sciences;—and for all who desire it, in pure science, in vocal and instrumental music, in photography, and in many varieties of the useful and decorative arts. There is, besides, a Polytechnic Day School for middle-class pupils, and in 1888 Mr. Hogg added a department for working women. No one can form an estimate of the extent and successfulness of this system of training who has not seen it worked out. Its value is enhanced by the fact that the Day School is *self-supporting*, so far as its actual outgoings are concerned, though without debiting it with its share of gas, cleaning, rent, rates, office expenses, etc. Any visitor who enters the Polytechnic after 8 o'clock at night will find it buzzing like a great hive with multifarious industries. He will see the truly beautiful sight of hundreds of youths eagerly engaged in promoting their own self-culture, and preparing themselves to make the future baffle of their lives more prosperous and more happy.

One beautiful feature of the work is the eagerness for self-improvement which it excites. Thus, besides the regular instruction classes in French and German, there are mutual improvement classes where the youths meet and take it in turns to help each other, and to talk in the languages which they are learning. The other day a French boy, who could not speak a word of English, arrived at a London station with a label tied on his jacket, "French Class, Polytechnic." He was taken to Regent Street, "fathered" by one of the youths, and introduced to the manager. Respectable lodgings were found for him, and he is now a full member.

4. Nor are the needs of health, and the development of the muscles and of the bodily frame neglected. There is a splendid swimming bath; there is the best gymnasium in London; there are clubs for cricket, for football, for boating, for cycling, for lawn tennis. The youths have at their disposal a place for sports, called Merton Hall, near Wimbledon, purchased by Mr. Hogg, and covering a space of twenty-seven acres. In these fields, during the winter months, as many as eight football teams may be seen enjoying that splendid game as happily as if they lived in the depths of the country. Surely, even if this were all—and I have tried not to weary the reader by a mere *catalogue raisonné* of details, which would fill a pamphlet—thousands of youths made happier and healthier by all this kindly forethought would have reason to bless the Regent Street Polytechnic and Mr. Quintin Hogg.

5. "Men have bodies, but they are spirits." All else that is being done would be comparatively unimportant if it were in no way connected—and that directly, not incidentally—with higher ends.

Now, in this matter Mr. Hogg has shown both his sincerity as a Christian, and his courage as a man. He knows as well as any of us that young men are "kittle cattle to shoe;" that they hate everything which is narrow, namby-pamby, insincere, conventional, or goody-goody. They will be hopelessly repelled by any mere effeminacy or sentimentalism of religion. Many of them—practically because they shrink from each other's criticism, and from every appearance of seeming or professing to be better than they are—almost resent any attempt to *invigil* them indirectly into religious organisations. It is only men who are essentially manly, like Mr. Hogg, his able coadjutor, Mr. Studd (who voluntarily devotes his entire life to the work), and others who work

with them, who could have succeeded by avowedly putting religion in the forefront, and saying, "All that we do for you we do because we desire your good; but the *one* good at which we aim above all others is the good of your highest selves." The managers of the Polytechnic do not thrust religion upon the young men, but they offer simple and attractive opportunities, while they resolutely set their faces against every influence which they believe to be unwholesome in itself and in its tendencies. Since the Polytechnic was started, Mr. Hogg has seen numbers of similar institutions spring up all around him, and speedily perish. To what does he attribute their precariousness and his own stability? I will give the reason in his own words, from a paper addressed to me as a member of the Diocesan Council. The failure of other institutions has, he thinks, been "owing first to the absence of a nucleus of good workers amongst the members themselves; and secondly to the endeavour to pander to questionable tastes and amusements. I refer especially to drinking, smoking, and billiards." The permission of smoking, for instance, "tended to congregate together an idle, gossiping set of fellows who loafed about the room all the evening, doing nothing but smoke, until at last the fellows themselves closed the room, finding that it was doing real harm to the Institute."

The directly religious teaching, though voluntary, is never lost sight of. Every day at ten o'clock there is a short devotional meeting. Every week Mrs. Hogg conducts a large Bible Class. Every Sunday afternoon Mr. Hogg has another Bible Class, which numbers 700 members. Every Sunday afternoon a congregation of young men numbered by hundreds assembles to a hearty, congregationally-musical, and entirely undenominational service. On every Sunday evening Dr. Lunn addresses some 1,200 of the members of the Institution of both sexes. The way in which these classes flourish is a striking proof of the willingness of the young men of London to listen to great Scriptural truths, when taught in plain English, in the manly, straightforward style adopted by their religious teachers. The Total Abstinence Society, and the "Christian Workers' Union," are devoted to the promotion of all Temperance and Evangelistic work. Besides these there have been weekly gatherings at the Polytechnic during the winter season, under the auspices of the London Diocesan Council for the welfare of young men, in which these youths, in numbers which crowd

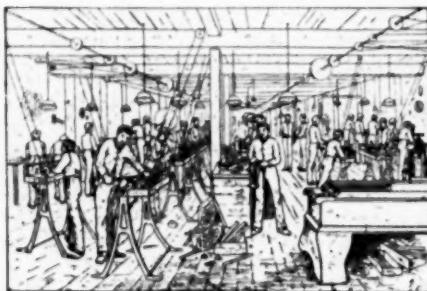
every corner of the large Hall—youths belonging to all denominations, or perhaps in some cases to no denomination—have listened, with respectful earnestness, to addresses from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and others of the clergy. Some of them, who know but little of the Church of England, have, we are told from these services learnt with surprise that the clergy of the Established Church are quite capable of speaking to them with effective simplicity, and of wielding a direct influence over their hearts and consciences!

Those who despise even moral and religious influences, if they are disconnected with any particular organisation, may complain that there is nothing ecclesiastical in these religious services. If so they should lay to heart the fact that for years Mr. Hogg tried, and tried in vain, to connect his youths with the churches and chapels of the denominations to which they professedly belonged. If he failed to do so, it was because the youths did not find in the work of these religious bodies the personal influence and the overwhelming sympathy which had so richly provided for their wants.

One most remarkable feature of the religious work is found in the social interviews with the youths, to which Mr. Hogg devotes many hours of his life. It is by seeing them alone for three-quarters of an hour at a time that he gets to know them individually and intimately, and is thus enabled to exercise a direct personal influence over no inconsiderable proportion of them. The "Bobs," and "Johns," and "Freds," and "Jims" with whom he interchanges so many kindly words and handshakes as he walks among them know that he is not a distant benefactor but a sincere friend to each one of them. The icy barrier of reserve which would be impenetrable to purely official intercourse melts at the touch of individual kindness, and a youth is safer and happier when he knows a friend on whom he can rely.

If there be any cynics, and men of the world, who think that when a lad frankly submits himself to religious influences—when he avows himself a Christian, and declares his intention of living as a Christian—he must necessarily be a canting hypocrite or an excited enthusiast, let him mingle among these young men. He will see how robust and manly is the type of young fellows developed in this Institute, and how much the result is due to the religious influences which are brought—decisively but unobtrusively—to bear upon them.

There are in London other Polytechnics. In one of these—the Finsbury Polytechnic, founded by the Rev. Freeman Wills—I am



THE POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING.

personally much interested, and in its terrible pecuniary struggles I had the honour of acting as Chairman of the Provisional Committee. It is doing, and has done, work analogous to, if not in all respects so successful and so well organised as that done by the Regent Street Polytechnic, which set the example and led the way. It would be impossible to estimate the value of the preventive and remedial work which such institutions have accomplished, or the contributions, positive and negative, which they have made to the immediate happiness and the well-being of thousands of City lads.

It ought now to be distinctly said that Mr. Quintin Hogg's Institution needs support to the extent of at least £4,000 a year; at any rate until the London County Council sees its way to give to the Metropolis, as a great and permanently-established boon, the opportunity which has been hitherto spontaneously afforded by the founder who has annually been supporting the Polytechnic with subsidies of from £8,000 to £10,000 a year without saying a word to any one. Because Mr. Hogg has up to this time been doing unaided that which should rather be the work of the city and of the nation, it would be worse than unjust to accept his benefits and throw on him a continuous burden at a time when he cannot but take into consideration the needs and claims of his young family.

It is difficult to understand why the London County Council and the Middlesex County Council should have been (as I am informed they are) the only Councils which declined to adopt the recommendation of Government to allocate to Technical Education the large sum assigned to them for this

purpose. They have left it to private generosity to provide Technical Education for these 13,000 youths, and even to make the required fire-proofing alterations in the Polytechnic which will cost £4,000. If the L.C.C. does not change its mind, and if subscriptions are not forthcoming, the School for Art and the Young Women's Institute will have to be closed, which would be a grievous loss. During the past four years Mr. Hogg has had to find £60,000, most of which he has given himself. He is now making over the premises to a public trust, and a governing body has just come into office, comprising some of the best known educational and philanthropic leaders in the country. He has, however, no intention of relaxing his personal connection with the place, the change having been adopted to ensure permanency. Such a governing body ought to be assured of sufficient public support to carry on this great work.

III.—I desire to gather up some of the secrets that may be learnt, some of the lessons which immediately arise, from the facts which I have passed in review.

1. First I would say that a certain amount of self management—self-management tempered always by the *Deus ex machina* of presidential control—should always, as far as possible, be an element in these institutions, if they are to succeed. The success of the Polytechnic is partly due to the fact that the management has always been left largely in the hands of the young men themselves, who originally elected their own committee, and gratuitously took entire charge of the place.

2. But, secondly, this very self-management will mean certain mischief and shipwreck, unless the members be gradually educated up to it. It always falls into the hands of noisy, selfish, conceited fellows, unless there be some earnest workers among the members themselves, whose hearts are in the right place, and who give their time and their best influence to make the work a success.

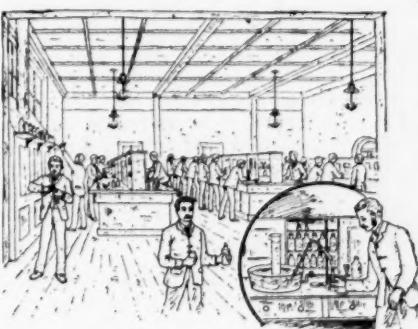
3. And, thirdly, the self-management can neither be originally conceded, nor can it subsequently be continued with safety, unless the institution be moored in a safe harbour by the sheet-anchor of some wise central influence. The one indefinable element in the phenomenal success of the Polytechnic is one which cannot be had to order. It is the princely generosity and Christian self-devotion of Mr. Hogg and his principal supporters; it is the personal attrac-

tion of their characters, the personal love and confidence which they inspire. Nothing, in Mr. Hogg's opinion, is more essential to success than "to find a man in sympathy with the members, and *willing and able to devote his life to the work*. It is not enough to form a committee, and let one man take one night and another man another night. You need some one who will endeavour to be there constantly, while the necessary clique of ruling spirits is crystallising around him, and forming the governing body of the future." Here is the one almost insuperable element of difficulty in starting and carrying on such a work as this. Among the thousands of commercial men and landed proprietors who possess enormous wealth, one or two may be found here and there—*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*—who are willing to regard themselves as the stewards, not the owners, of their immense possessions. Large sums of money may sometimes be given, although a man who will, like Mr. Quintin Hogg, spend £150,000 of his money—unasked, unknown, and almost unthanked—is nearly as rare as the Phoenix. But even when we can find men who will give money, where shall we find men who will devote their time, their thought, their nervous energy, the self-sacrifice of their lives?

The extent of the services which the founder has rendered to the young fellows is almost incredible. He has repeatedly taken some of them abroad with him. He has camped out with them in country places. He has been to them, not only as a benefactor but as a father and a brother. Is it wonderful that he should have got a hold upon them wholly unlike that which is possible where they are treated in the too perfunctory manner common in our Sunday Schools? It is, however, astonishing "how much goodness goodness makes." A generous example is often contagious. One youth at the Polytechnic had in four or five years saved £30. He gave it all away in one sum to save a comrade! But the good results of Mr. Hogg's example have not merely been shown in isolated instances. Grateful for all which they themselves have gained, some old members of the Regent Street Polytechnic have recently induced some gentlemen, among whom is Mr. Hogg himself, to start a Polytechnic at Woolwich for the young men engaged in the Arsenal, where 16,000 artisans are employed.

And let no one for a moment imagine that the large infusion of the athletic element which is indispensable to the success of such an institution is comparatively un-

important. The conditions of town life are essentially unfavourable to the physical development of the young. They cannot get the exercise which is necessary for them without the intervention of institutions like this. Their lives are often mainly spent in long hours of labour and in a vitiated atmosphere; and the sickly body—if its growing feebleness and weariness be not stimulated—tends to generate the morbid soul. "If you rumple the jerkin," says an old writer, "you rumple also the jerkin's lining." The noble human beings produced of old in the ancient Greek republics—in Athens, Thebes, and Sparta—were produced by attention to physical training. If we would know how those youths were brought up whose gallant forms hold or bestride the steeds on the frieze of the Parthenon, the answer is that they were trained in the two great branches of Greek education—gymnastics and music. Music means something more than a knowledge of the laws of harmony and melody, and a skill to put them into practice. The essential ideas of music—the melody and the harmony—were to be carried into the life. Both the chorus and the song involved the elements of solidarity and of self-control, and were closely connected with the rhythmic movements and chivalries of the gymnasium. And, in modern times, when a statesman so wise and patriotic as Baron von Stein, desired to uplift Prussia from the crushing humiliation of Jena, it is said that one of the questions which deeply occupied his attention was the prevention of physical degeneracy among the youths of Germany, and the use of gymnastics as one method of strengthen-



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ing their bodies, and helping to fire their hearts with patriotism, and guide their aspirations in the paths of virtue. England

should feel towards her sons something of the spirit expressed at the old Greek festivals when the men would come forward singing—

“ In days gone by we too were stalwart youths ;”
and the young men sang—

“ And we are stalwart now ; come test our strength,”

and the chorus of boyish trebles prophesied—

“ Aye, and we shall be : stronger far than both.”

The development of modern gymnastics to which modern Germany owes so much, is perhaps mainly due to Friedrich Ludwig Jahn—*Vater Jahn*, as the Germans call him. He is the author of *Deutsches Volks-thum*, and the one aim of his life was to revive the dying hopes of his country by the *physical* as well as the *moral* training of the young.

The whole nation owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Quintin Hogg for what he has done, were it only in improving the *stamina* of this host of young men. Those who take their estimate of City clerks and artisans from the books of thirty years ago, such as “ Alton Locke,” would be astonished to see the strong, upright, athletic boys and young men who stand in ranks performing feats of agility and endurance in the Polytechnic gymnasium. “ Feel this fellow’s arm,” said Mr. Hogg to me ; “ it has been developed in our boxing-classes.” I did so, and found a biceps of which Front de Boeuf would have been proud.

Not content with what he has already done, Mr. Hogg is now going to start personally (independently of the funds of the Institute) a scheme for getting hold of the thousands of young men and women who annually come up to London from the country. It will aim at providing them with respectable lodgings, and putting them into immediate contact with the best members of the religious bodies to which their parents belong. We wish all success to a scheme so needful.

IV. But if the due provision for the needs of her youths be the duty of every wise nation, surely it is a matter which should engage the solicitude of every branch of the Christian Church. Let me close with the striking legend told by St. Clement of Alexandria about the Apostle St. John, which he says is not a legend, but a true story. In his old age, on his arrival at one

of the cities not far from Ephesus, the Evangelist of love “ saw a youth of stalwart frame and winning countenance and impetuous spirit ;” and since the youth had become acquainted with Christianity, St. John said to the bishop, “ I entrust to thee this youth with all earnestness, calling Christ and the Church to witness.” The bishop accepted the trust, and made all the requisite promises ; and the Apostle renewed his injunctions and adjurations. The bishop took the youth home with him, instructed, maintained, cherished, and finally baptised him. After this he abandoned all further special care of him, “ considering that he had affixed to him the seal of the Lord as a perfect amulet against evil.”

So far the story might stand for that of an English youth up to the time of his confirmation or his leaving school and becoming his own master.

Is not the sequel also, in many cases, analogous ?

The youth, prematurely neglected, was corrupted by certain idle companions of own age, who were familiar with evil. They first led him astray with many banquets, and then took him out by night with them to share in their felonious proceedings, finally demanding his co-operation in graver offences. Familiarised with evil, the youth relapsed, left the straight path, took the bit, as it were, between his teeth, and abandoning the Divine salvation, gathered his worst comrades about him, and began to prey upon society.

Has the Church no responsibility for such moral ruin ?

St. John, at any rate, thought that she had. When he returned to the city he asked the bishop for the sacred deposit which he and the Saviour had committed to his charge. The bishop at first so little realised his neglect that he mistook the metaphor, until the Apostle said to him : “ I demand back the young man, the soul of the brother.” Then, groaning from the depths of his heart and shedding tears, the bishop said : “ He is dead.” “ He is dead to God,” said the bishop, “ for he has turned out wicked and desperate, and, to sum up all, he is a brigand.”

Did the Apostle acquiesce in this result, or did he hold the bishop blameless, and regard the apostasy as inevitable from the nature of things ? On the contrary, rending his robe and beating his head, with loud wailing, he cried : “ A fine guardian of our brother’s soul did I leave !”

But he was not content with deplored the catastrophe. Calling for a horse and a guide, he rode to the mountains in search of the robber chief. He was captured by the band, and when the youth would have fled from his captive with utter shame, he called out, "Why, my son, dost thou fly from thy own father, unarmed, aged as he is? Pity me, my son; fear not; thou hast still a hope of life. I will give account to Christ for thee. If need be I will willingly aby thy death, as the Lord endured the death on our behalf. For thy sake I will give in ransom my own soul. Stay! Believe! Christ sent me!"

Then the youth was overcome. He cast down his eyes, he wept, he re-baptised himself with his tears, and the Apostle, pledging himself to win remission for him from his Saviour, led him back and prayed and

wrestled for him, and disenchanted him from sin with winning strains, and did not depart till he had fully restored him to the bosom of the Church, "affording a great example of true repentance, and a great badge of renewed birth, in the soul of one of those over whom the angels radiantly rejoice, hymning their hymns and opening the heavens."*

Have Christians of every denomination nothing to learn from the youth's fall, from the bishop's remissness, from the intense earnestness, the burning energy, and the final success of the great Apostle? For many thousands of youths, of whom the bishops of their souls had utterly lost sight, Mr. Quintin Hogg, though a simple layman, has done the work which the legend or tradition of Clement assigns to the Evangelist St. John.



THE ABBEY, RESTORED, FROM A PAINTING IN POSSESSION OF THE REV. C. P. EYRE.

CLOISTER LIFE IN THE DAYS OF CŒUR DE LION.

BY THE VERY REV. H. DONALD M. SPENCE,
D.D., DEAN OF GLOUCESTER.

From *Good Words* (London), September, 1892.

II.

OUTSIDE the walls of the great monasteries, in the twelfth century, comparatively few could read with ease; there was scarce-

ly any literature,† a few poems, a rare chronicle, the Bible, the Missal, the Breviary and "Hours," made up the bulk of the books of the dark ages; few of the mighty castles of the Norman conquerors,

* Clem. Alex., *Quis Dic. Salv.*, 42.

† This by no means exaggerates the general ignorance of the early Middle Ages. For instance, as late as the fourteenth century, Du Guesclin, Constable of France, one of the foremost men of the age, could neither read nor write, and John, King of Bohemia, was equally ignorant; the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (end of twelfth century) could not read; Philippe le Hardi, King of France, son of St. Louis (thirteenth century) was likewise unable to read. For many centuries it

whose vast ruins we still gaze at and admire, boasted of a library whose scanty shelves held any books besides these works, and even these few were little used save by the monk or chaplain who served the castle and its baron as almoner.

Within, however, the home of prayer, things were different; there not a few of the fathers were learned men, many could read and write and speak fluently several tongues, English (Anglo-Saxon), Norman-French, Provençal-French (the *langues d'Oc* and *d'Oil*), and even dialects of these were to not a few very familiar; and above all, Latin was to every monk who dreamed of rising to any post of honour and dignity in his house a well-known tongue. Greek before the fifteenth century was little studied; * Hebrew and oriental languages still less. The words and thoughts of the old Church writers, and of the Roman classic writers, were read and pondered over by young and old in their long hours of study or recreation.† But there was no "public" outside their walls who cared for books—hardly any one in the court or camp of the Norman and Plantagenet kings, very few merchants or burghers in London or Winchester or Gloucester, who were interested in literature of any kind—scarcely any indeed who could read fluently enough to study with pleasure.

This want of an outside world who could read and take an interest in their written thoughts, their poetry, their theology, their diaries, their stories, no doubt generally acted as an effectual barrier to original writing on the part of the monks of the famous religious houses in the days of the early Plantagenets. There was no demand for their compositions, nothing to spur them on to what we should call literary exertion. There were numberless scholars, but they for the most part contented themselves with reading, pondering over, copying again and again the Scriptures, their missals and the great masterpieces of a by-gone age, seldom, however, adding fresh thoughts to the old store.

Hence the singular barrenness of all monastic records. There are many of these

was rare for any layman of whatever rank to know how to sign his name. A few signatures to deeds appear, however, in the fourteenth century. On the scarcity of books at this time (centuries twelve and thirteen) and the enormous price they fetched, see Hailam, "Middle Ages," iii., ix., 1, and Robertson's "Charles V.," Introduction, vol. I, note x; "Sismondi," tom. 5, &c.

* I am speaking here, of course, in the main of England, and English and Norman monasteries.

† Jocelin de Brakelonda, in his little chronicle of domestic incidents, quotes often Horace and Virgil, Cicero, Seneca, Terence and Lucan, &c., in such a way as to show us how familiar he was with the thoughts and expressions of these writers.

with us still,* some carefully printed and edited in the scholarly series of the Master of the Rolls, others remaining in our great libraries in manuscript. These give us ample and elaborate information as to the names and functions of the various officers or obedientaries of the more important monasteries; their cartularies supply us with detailed information as to the lands and farms, their chronicles and histories give a little, but very little contemporary history, they record a few of the royal and more important visits to the house, they relate much of the disputes of the monks with the bishop of the see and with the royal officials, mentioning year by year the chief changes in the persons of the principal officers of the society, occasionally dwelling on individual delinquencies. They recount with fair accuracy too the progress of building and altering and restoring the church and cloister, granges, schools, farms, abbot and prior's lodgings, infirmaries, campaniles, refectories, and suchlike, registering also frequently the more important gifts of sacred vestments and furniture. And all this with apparently studied brevity, with painful dryness; rarely do we find anything of what we should call human interest in these chronicles and cartularies.

The truth was, had these scribe-monks been at the pains to record the impressions of their inner lives, their thoughts, aspirations, longings, fears, desires, imaginings, searchings of heart, no one in those days would have cared to read or hear them. So we find volumes of dry official matters, businesslike records, and nothing more; many a detail of inestimable value to the antiquary and the historian, but, alas! little that would interest the ordinary thoughtful reader.

Owing to this sad dearth of writings which possess any general interest among the monkish compilations of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries which are preserved among us, we know comparatively little of the real life which was led in these great homes of prayer, where the men were trained who exercised such vast influence over men's souls in those rough, rude times. "Bells tolled to prayers; and men of many humours, various thoughts, chanted vespers and matins, and round the little islet of their life rolled forever the illimitable ocean, tinting all things with its eternal hues and reflexes, making strange pro-

* The thirteenth and following centuries were especially prolific in monastic chronicles. These are of inestimable value to all compilers of history. But we possess scant knowledge of the inner life of the monasteries.

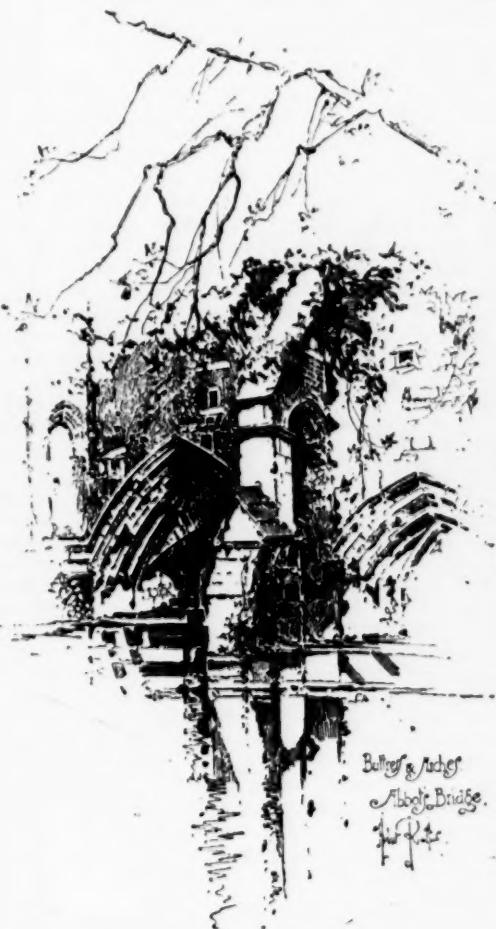
phetic music ! How silent now ; all departed ; clean gone." * How we long to get glimpses of this deep-buried time !

Amid the mass of *reliquiae* of monastic writings, here and there we come upon a fragment which throws a little light upon the "life;" perhaps none so vivid, so bright, though, as the light thrown by a chronicle written by a monk of St. Edmundsbury who lived in the days of Cœur de Lion, his father Henry II., and his brother John Lackland.

This little chronicle, written in the last quarter of the twelfth century, completely lifts up the veil which hangs over monastic life in the days of Cœur de Lion. Jocelin† the Chronicler was a learned, simple-hearted monk, who during a long series of years held various responsible offices in the great house of St. Edmundsbury, among others—in his younger days—that of chaplain for some six years to the abbot. It is a kind of private diary, or rather extracts from a private diary reaching over many years. Probably Jocelin in later years, recopied certain portions or extracts of his original work, selecting what seemed to him the memoranda bearing on the more important incidents which had happened in the house and in which he had for the most part taken a share. They tell us—do his memoirs—of the little intrigues among the monks, of their work, of their thoughts one of another, of their difficulties, of their longing after the higher life, of their faults and mistakes; nothing is concealed. He wrote it all down just as it happened, quite naturally, and simply, in his rough monkish Latin, not, however, without a certain charm of manner. Some half a century ago Carlyle came across this diary,‡ and our great writer and thinker, struck with the vivid life-like picture it contained of the rugged monk who is its subject (Abbot Samson), used Jocelin's little story § "as a striking evidence in favour of that theory

of hero worship on which he loved to insist."

Carlyle was writing under a sense of the



hopelessness of democracy, and the belief that the heroic ruler, gifted with the necessary courage and insight, was the sole hope whether of a misguided nation or a struggling institution. He saw how "Samson the abbot had raised his monastery from a condition of the greatest embarrassment and helplessness to a position of great power and influence."

"So may Englishmen, their eye being opened to the qualities of their great men, set the heroic element in command and precedence wherever wise organisation is required, and thus escape from the dangers which threaten to engulf the social fabric."

* Carlyle.

† Jocelin's Chronicle exists entire only in the Harleian MS. 1005. Portions, however, of the memoir are found in other MSS.

‡ It was printed for the first time for the Camden Society, 1840.

§ "Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey" (Rolls Series), edited by Thomas Arnold.

Carlyle prized Jocelin's memoirs very highly. They amused him with their harmless gossip, but he recognised the transparent truth of the picture they presented of a noble heroic man, and of a real earnest God-fearing life clustering round the central figure.*

Not a little interest is added to this curious and vivid picture of cloister life when we remember the house from which it came. The monastery of St. Edmundsbury occupies among the many hundred religious houses which flourished in the days of *Cœur de Lion* a very distinguished place indeed. It was no recent foundation when Jocelin wrote, owing its existence simply to Norman munificence or Norman penitence; it belonged to Anglo-Saxon story. The Normans, it is true, had enriched it and beautified it. But it was older than the conquerors. Its patron saint was an Anglo-Saxon king of East Anglia, a realm roughly including our present Eastern Counties, who lived a few years before the great Alfred. His life has become, it is true, "a poetic rag, a religious mythus," but enough is certainly known about him to construct on a fairly secure basis an historical story of a very noble and brave man who in his lifetime secured the love and devotion of his subjects.

In the Danish conquest of England, Edmund's dominion was specially exposed to the attacks of the sea-kings, two of whom—Hingnar and Hubba—defeated his army with great slaughter at Seven Hills, near Thetford, and shortly after this decisive battle captured King Edmund at Hoxne. The pagan victors offered him his life on condition of his renouncing the Christian faith. Edmund refused, and was bound to a tree, cruelly beaten with clubs, and then shot at with arrows, and subsequently decapitated.†

At this point the legendary history which for so many centuries has surrounded the body of King Edmund begins. The pierced and mangled body of the king was found by

* So impressed was Carlyle of the "Reality of the Monk's Religion, so transparently mirrored in the chronicle of Jocelin," that he writes: "Our Religion—that is, in St. Edmund's Monastery—is not yet a horrible, restless doubt, but a great heaven-high unquestionability, encompassing, interpenetrating the whole of life. Imperfect as we are here with our litanies, our shaven crowns, vows of poverty, to testify incessantly and indisputably to every heart that this earthly life and its riches are not intrinsically a reality at all, but are a shadow of realities eternal, infinite. This with our poor litanies we testify. —*Past and Present—The Ancient Monk.*

St. Edmund's oak in Hoxne wood was from time immemorial pointed out as the site of the saintly king's martyrdom, and when in September, 1848, this venerable relic of a remote past fell down, there was found imbedded deeply in the ancient trunk an iron cusp which is believed to be one of the actual arrow-blades shot by the Danes at the king bound to this very tree.—*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, March, 1848.

a few of his devoted servants, and reverently buried. But the head was missing. After forty days' search (some versions of the story speak of a longer period) the head was found in the woods of Egledon safely guarded by an enormous wolf,* who at once quietly yielded up his sacred charge. It was then reverently placed in the coffin with the body, with which it immediately united, so that nothing was visible but a thin line like a purple thread. The body was found perfectly undecayed. For thirty-three years it lay undisturbed in a small wooden church at Hoxne. Round this little wooden shrine gradually gathered stories of miracles of healing worked at the grave of the loved king, so in A.D. 903 it was determined to erect a large wooden basilica at the neighbouring town of Beotricsworth, and to lay there the wonder-working corpse in a shrine. This basilica was built of the trunks of large trees sawn lengthways in the middle, and reared up with one end fixed in the ground with the bark outermost. A few priests and deacons undertook the care of the sacred remains. The fame of the martyr's tomb grew. King Athelstan formed a college of secular canons, to whom the duty of watching over the shrine was entrusted. One of these, Ailwyn by name, became distinguished for his extraordinary devotion to the blessed remains.

The story relates how this Ailwyn became a Benedictine monk, and at his suggestion the charge of the shrine was vested in the order to which Ailwyn belonged. This devoted guardian was in the habit—says one of the chroniclers—of pouring water on the uncorrupt members of the holy body, composing the hair of the head with a comb; if any hair came off, he carefully kept it as a relic in a box.† In A.D. 1010 Ailwyn brought his sacred charge to London for fear of any harm happening to it from Danish invaders, who were again infesting the Eastern Counties. It remained in London some three years. Some miraculous incidents during its stay in the great city invested the precious relic with ever-increasing fame. Ailwyn resisted the prayer of the Bishop of London, who wished to keep the miracle-working body,‡ and St. Edmund was brought back again to the wooden basilica at the little township of Beotricsworth, the name of which was changed to St. Edmundsbury, for now the fame of the

* The wolf guarding the martyr's head has always been represented in the seal of the Abbey arms.

† The box and the hair were found by the Commissioners of Henry VIII. in the sixteenth century.

‡ The Church of St. Edmund, king and martyr, in the City, still preserves the memory of the temporary sojourn of his body in London.

martyr's body and its supposed power attracted many pilgrims, and a considerable town by degrees grew round the wooden basilica which served as the home of the shrine. Already in the reign of Edmund, son of Edward the Elder, A.D. 945, a royal charter and considerable estates, by way of endowment, had been granted to the martyr's shrine and its keepers. The reign of Sweyn the Dane was, however, hostile to the growing "foundation." King Sweyn seems to have imposed a grievous tribute on the Eastern Counties, and the lands of the shrine were not exempted. The king listened to the prayer of the servants of St. Edmund that the heavy tax might be remitted, and for a reply mocked at the saint, and threatened to burn the church and town if the tax were not at once paid.

But King Sweyn died, the common report said by the visitation of God and His outraged servant St. Edmund. It was in the royal camp at Gainsborough, in the evening, when Sweyn retired as usual; suddenly there stood before the king an unknown soldier of wonderful beauty arrayed in flashing armour. "Wilt thou," asked the strange warrior, "have tribute from St. Edmund's land? Arise and take it." The servants of Sweyn relate how on hearing their lord's cries they ran to his chamber and found him bathed in blood, mortally wounded, as he told them before he died, by St. Edmund.*

Canute, on succeeding to the whole kingdom, determined to propitiate the formidable saint. He renewed the old charter of King Edmund, vastly enlarging its privileges, and in addition endowing the religious house which had the guardianship of the holy body with so many possessions, that from that time it was looked upon as one of the richest communities in England. He also rebuilt the basilica in the form of a stately church, laying his crown upon St. Edmund's tomb. King Hardicanute paid similar court to the now famous shrine and monastery. Edward the Confessor frequently visited the monks of St. Edmund's, and loved to worship at the altar of the martyr king, whom he called his cousin. The year before his death (A.D. 1065) the Confessor caused his physician, the monk Baldwin of St. Denis (Paris), to be elected abbot of the great monastery.

Baldwin was the trusted friend, as it happened, of the Norman conqueror William. So the house of St. Edmund and its posses-

sions, in all the bitter troubles which followed the battle of Hastings, remained unharmed, growing indeed year by year in importance and wealth.

Baldwin the physician was a wise and able man, famous even among the great ecclesiastics of that stirring age. It was Baldwin who resisted Herfast, the bishop who wished to live at Bury St. Edmunds,



SEAL OF ABBOT SAMSON.

(From an Instrument in the Archives of Canterbury Cathedral, dated Nov. 6, A.D. 1200.)

and to make the church which Canute had built over the martyr's tomb the cathedral of his far-reaching East Anglian diocese. But this would have closed the story of the great monastery for ever. Abbot Baldwin went to Rome, and from Pope Alexander II. received a brief of privilege, which made St. Edmund's house independent of episcopal control, and placed it under the special protection* of the Roman pontiff. The Pope gave him a pastoral staff, and thus

* So Richard of Cirencester and William of Malmesbury, *Ordericus Vitalis*, and *Hoveden*, relate the same story with slightly varying details.

* So great and marked was the favour ever shown by Rome to this house, that some sixty bulls were granted by succeeding popes to confirm and enlarge its rights and privileges.

raised him in rank above other abbots, and enriched his church with the famous porphyry altar, on which mass was to be celebrated, though the whole kingdom around lay under an interdict. In addition to all these spiritual privileges the Norman kings in succession, among many marks of royal favour, confirmed the charter of the Confessor given to Baldwin, allowing the abbot to coin money, with all the rights of a royal mint.

Abbot Baldwin was a true Norman ecclesiastic of the highest type, and the spirit which inspired so many of the spiritual chieftains of that strange, mighty race

serve to attract men and lavish offerings to be used in the service of the King of kings. They chose the moment well. There never was a time before or since in England like the few years which followed the Norman conquest for the carrying out of their gigantic works.

And of all the splendid houses of God which this great church-building age saw designed, and to a certain measure completed, the abbey of St. Edmund's, the abbey of Baldwin, the physician to the Confessor and the Conqueror, was perhaps the grandest.* From the poor sad remains with us now, we can still accurately measure the amazing magnitude of its dimensions; as a Norman edifice it far surpassed in size every other church or cathedral in the kingdom of that era.† An eye-witness‡ speaks of its vaulting, its pillars, its marbles as all being on the noblest scale; never was a more beautiful and magnificent minster seen than the lordly abbey of the Eastern Counties which rose so proudly over the shrine of the East Saxon Edmund in the days of Rufus.

The conventional buildings around this stupendous abbey were in no respect unworthy of their glorious centre. They were on a scale of magnitude not surpassed in England. One peculiar feature was the stately group of seven or perhaps eight churches or chapels in the cemetery which partly surrounded the abbey.§ two if not more of these being of great size and magnificence. The importance of this, perhaps the greatest of the English Benedictine abbeys of the early Middle Ages, was universally recognised. Nearly every chronicle between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries found occasion to refer to it, beginning with the Saxon Chronicle and Asser's "Life of Alfred" in the eleventh century, and ending with Walsingham, who wrote in the fifteenth. Some fourteen well-known chroniclers might be quoted who refer to important matters connected with this great house.

Such was the home of prayer under whose broad shadow the monks of St. Edmund's lived that life in the days of Cœur de Lion



SEAL OF THE ABBEY OF S. EDMUNDSBURY.

In the middle of the seal are two angels carrying the soul of St. Edmund to heaven; at the bottom of the seal is a soldier, represented as having just cut off the king's head, which a wolf is guarding.

(From a fragment appendant to Surrender of Abbey, in the Augmentation Office.)

which in the eleventh century looked to William the Conqueror as their lord, rested also upon the physician abbot of St. Edmund's. Men like Baldwin were persuaded that their master's religion would win a greater hold upon the human soul if they could celebrate the mysteries of the Christian faith and teach their holy doctrines in abbeys and holy homes of prayer, which, from their vast size, their gorgeous decorations and sacred symbolism, would at once inspire awe and stimulate enthusiasm. They believed that from these magnificent and stately centres a new work of conversion would issue. They felt that the stately abbey and the noble cathedral would

* The great Abbey was almost entirely rebuilt by Baldwin. It was, of course, not completed in his time.

† *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, March, 1865, "Bury St. Edmund's Abbey," by Gordon M. Hills (paper 1).

‡ Herman, the Archdeacon, who wrote his "De Miraculis S. Edmundi" at the close of the eleventh century.—*Rolls Series, Memorials of St. Edmund's*, 1890.

§ Two of these, in good truth splendid churches, remain with us to this day. They were given in very early days by the monks to be used as parish churches, and in the day of destruction, the people who specially loved these their churches resisted their spoliation. There underlies these solitary cases of rescue a deep lesson for Churchmen.

and his father, so vividly and charmingly portrayed by one of their number in his unique and homelike picture of the everyday doings and sayings of his brother monks.

* The memoirs of Jocelin open somewhat abruptly.

The writer was a young monk just out of his novitiate, and his earliest impressions of this great house were, that while there was much earnest religion and real devotion among his brethren, there prevailed at the same time a sad laxity of discipline, and an utter disregard of finance : the great officers of the monastery—the priors, sacrist, cellarer, and others—did what they liked. The vast revenues of St. Edmund's were sadly wasted ; the farms and manor-houses, and even the buildings of the monks and abbot, were in sad want of repair, and ready money was always lacking, and large sums were constantly borrowed from Jewish usurers at a ruinous rate of interest (sixty per cent. !). Jocelin said all this was owing to the weakness of the Lord Abbot—"a pious and kind man was Abbot Hugh (once prior of Westminster), a good and religious monk," but now an old man half blind and tormented with rheumatism. He had been abbot some twenty-three years, and lately was sadly influenced by flatterers who deceived him as to the true state of affairs in the monastery. Fortunately for St. Edmund's, Abbot Hugh wished to pray at the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. On the journey his horse stumbled, and the poor old man was mortally hurt, and only returned to his beautiful home to die. A sad picture of the discipline of the abbey we have here, for Jocelin tells us, no sooner was Hugh dead, than his servants plundered everything in his house that they could carry away, and not a single article or penny's worth was left that could be distributed to the poor for his soul's sake. A similar scene of ingratitude and sordid greed, Ordericus Vitalis tells us, was witnessed when William the Conqueror breathed his last at St. Gervais, on the hill by Rouen.

Now who was to be abbot of the famous foundation ? It was no small prize. The Dominus Abbas of St. Edmund was a mighty man in the State as well as in the Church. Fifty knights and their depen-

dants followed the banner of St. Edmund. The income of the house has been variously calculated at a sum equivalent to £300,000 of our money, or even more. If the abbot was an able prelate, he sat as a royal counsellor in all great and important public matters.

There was at this time on the throne a very powerful and masterful king, Henry II. Would he let the monks elect one of their own body, or would he force some stranger to them into the abbot's chair ? Fortunately for the house at this juncture a foreign ecclesiastic of high fame, well known to the king, the Archbishop of Drontheim in Norway, who had been driven by State intrigues from his see, was the guest of England. For some months after Hugh's death the archbishop resided in the monastery of St. Edmund, and reported well to Henry II. of the piety and learning of the house. Of their money difficulties and wasteful administration probably the foreign archbishop knew nothing, so after a longish interregnum of over a year, the king commanded the prior and twelve representative monks to appear before him and make choice of an abbot. One of the most curious bits of Jocelin's memoirs describes the monks' gossip talk, at recreation, and at other seasons when talk was permissible, about their favourite chiefs and officers, dwelling on the special qualifications of the more prominent brothers for the high office then vacant.

One would say of another, "That brother is a good monk ; he is well acquainted with the rule and discipline of the Church, and though he may not be as perfect a philosopher as others he is well able to be an abbot. Was not Abbot Ording * an illiterate man ? yet he was a good abbot, and governed the House wisely." Then another would answer, "How may this be ? Can an unlearned man preach a sermon in chapter to us, or to the people on Sunday ? Far be it that a dumb statue should be set up in the church of St. Edmund, where many learned and studious men are known to be." Another would be heard to say, "That brother is a good clerk, eloquent and careful, strict in rule, he hath well loved the house, he is worthy to be made an abbot." He would be answered : "From good clerks, O Lord, deliver us, as from lawyer-like brothers." † One monk would say, "That brother is a good steward, we see it from the way he has

* The chronicle of Jocelin, a monk of St. Edmund's, here referred to, embraces the period from 1173 A.D. to 1202 A.D. It is written in "Monk-Latin," and was first printed from a MS. in the Harleian Collection by the Camden Society in 1840. The Camden edition is a quarto, and the text occupies 103 pages. Here a few extracts only have been taken from the chronicle, extracts which especially throw light upon the inner life of a great monastery of the twelfth century.

† A well known and popular prior, and subsequently abbot some years before 1156.

† This was an allusion to Samson, the sub-sacrist, who became abbot, but who by his zeal and energy had made a certain number of enemies.

filled his office ; see how many thorough repairs he has carried out : he is, too, by no means deficient in wit, though it is true too much learning hath not made him mad." But his friend would reply to these praises : " Surely God would never have a man for an abbot who can neither read or write or chant." Another would answer then, " There is a brother who is a kind man, amiable, peace-loving, open-hearted and generous, learned too, and eloquent, beloved by many, indoors as well as out ; such a man might by God's leave become abbot to the great honour of the Church." But his friend would sharply paint another view of this popular character : " It would be surely an honour to the Church

his reputation were good : his character is doubtful, and he seems wise, meek and humble in chapter, devoted in church, strict in the cloister, but it is all outward show with him ! What if he do excel in any office ? he is too scornful, lightly esteems monks, is closely intimate with secular persons."

Again a certain monk who seemed in his own eye very wise, said, " May the Lord bestow on us a simple and foolish shepherd, so that it may be most needful for Him to care for us." The novices said, " Infirm old men were by no means fit to govern a convent." And thus many persons said many things.

Jocelin tells us how he gave his own opin-



to have an abbot over-nice in his eating and drinking, one who thinks it a virtue to sleep long, who spends much and gets little, who sleeps while others watch, who cares nothing for the debts * which grow day by day, —a man cherishing and fostering flatterers and liars—from such a prelate defend us, O Lord !"

One monk thus spoke of a brother : " That man is wiser than all of us put together, both in worldly and church matters, a man of lofty counsel, strict in rule, eloquent and learned ; would not he be a good prelate ?" " Yes," said his friend, " if only

ion in these little cloister gatherings. He would not have the choice fall on too good a monk, or an overwise clerk, neither on one too simple or too weak, lest on the one hand he should be over-confident in his own judgment and despise others, or, on the other hand, lest he through weakness should become a byword to others.

There was in the monastery a certain monk of the name of Samson, a man of good lineage, not quite fifty years old, who had filled several important offices in the house with honour and credit, such as master of the town schools, master of the novices, and latterly sub-sacrist, an " obedience" involving in such a great house onerous and important duties. He was a reserved,

* The monk here was evidently alluding to some favourite officers of the late abbot Hugh, who allowed the affairs of the monastery to get into sad confusion, allowing flatterers to deceive him as to the real state of the house.

thoughtful man, of great business capabilities, a good scholar and an able preacher, very earnest and devout, but in an unostentatious manner. He was no favourite with the late abbot, for he would never join the band of sycophants who, to serve their own ends, made it their business to hide the disorders which were creeping into the community from the old, ailing abbot. Samson would boldly speak his mind in public chapter when he saw things going wrong, and thus made not a few enemies by his plain, honest words. When Hugh died he was collecting funds and materials for building

mund's very graciously, and desired them to nominate to him three members of their community who seemed to them worthy of the abbacy. The prior and the twelve then withdrew and opened and read aloud their sealed instructions. Jocelin tells us of the surprised faces when the names were read out, and how those brethren who were of higher rank than the three nominated flushed—*erubuerunt*—(a momentary feeling of surprise and a little jealousy; Jocelin conceals nothing). The king listened and was puzzled. They were quite unknown names to the outside world. “Let



one of the great towers of the church. The wisest of the monks thought highly of their sub-sacrist Samson as one who could and would, if he had the power, restore the relaxed discipline and set in order the disordered finances of the house.

But though he was one of the twelve selected to go to the king, he was evidently not looked on generally as a likely candidate for the abbatial dignity, as he was almost unknown outside the walls of St. Edmund's. The prior and the twelve bore with them a sealed paper for the king in which were the names of three brothers fitted in all respects for the abbacy. These names were secretly selected by six senior monks chosen for that purpose by the whole house. The three names so chosen in solemn privacy were Samson, Hugo, the third prior, and Roger, the cellarar, a great officer in the monastery.

Henry II., who was at Waltham, in Hampshire, received the monks of St. Ed-

mund's very graciously, and desired them to nominate to him three members of their community who seemed to them worthy of the abbacy. The prior and the twelve then withdrew and opened and read aloud their sealed instructions. Jocelin tells us of the surprised faces when the names were read out, and how those brethren who were of higher rank than the three nominated flushed—*erubuerunt*—(a momentary feeling of surprise and a little jealousy; Jocelin conceals nothing). The king listened and was puzzled. They were quite unknown names to the outside world. “Let

them suggest,” said Henry, “three more names that he might have a wider choice.” They consulted together: William, the sacrist, a great official but a careless, bad monk, said to the brethren, “Our prior ought to be nominated, because he is our head.”

All agreed at once. In the first flush of gratitude for the nomination, the prior, who seems to have been—although of stainless character—a weak man, nominated the sacrist; the third suggested was an old monk, Dennis, a man of blameless life. They presented these fresh names to King Henry, who marvelled, saying, “These electors have been quick about it; God is

with them. But give me," said the king. " yet a wider choice and suggest to me as well, three names of strangers to your house." Rather reluctantly, for they wished to keep the great office to the brethren of St. Edmund's, they nominated three well-known stranger monks from Malmesbury, St. Faith's and St. Neot's. The king considered a while and told them to strike out three from the nine. At once they struck off the three aliens; of the six remaining four were by agreement among themselves withdrawn, and now but two remained as the free choice of the house of St. Edmund's, the prior and Samson. Richard, Bishop of Winchester, and Geoffrey, the son of fair Rosamund, the chancellor, stood by the king as counsellors. The venerable old monk, Dennis, then acted as spokesman for the rest of the brothers, commanding the persons of the prior and Samson, saying that each of them was learned, that either was good, but he kept coming back in the corner of his discourse (*in angulo sui sermonis*) to Samson, repeating he was a man in very truth strict in life, severe in reforming excesses, moreover heedful in secular matters (the wise old monk remembered well the faults of the late abbot), and approved in various offices.

The Bishop of Winchester replied, " We see what you wish to say. Your prior seems to have been somewhat remiss, and that, in fact, you wish to have Samson." " Either of them is good," answered Dennis, " but by God's help we desire to have the best." The Bishop of Winchester then asked them plainly, " Is it your wish to have Samson?" Then it was answered by the majority of the little company of delegates, " We will have Samson." The king, after a consultation with those about him, said, " You present to me Samson; I know him not. Had you presented to me your prior I should at once have accepted him, because I have known him, and am well acquainted with him; but I will do as you desire me. Take heed to yourselves: by the eyes of God,* if you are acting unworthily, I shall call you to severe account." Then he asked the prior if he assented to the choice. The prior, who had so narrowly missed the great office himself, very generously and nobly said that he was well content it should be and Samson was much more worthy so, of the dignity. At once the new lord abbot fell down at the king's feet and kissing them, hastily arose, going towards the altar,

saying, " *Miserere mei Deus*," erect, and with an unmoved countenance. The king watched him. " By the eyes of God," said Henry to the ministers of state standing by him, " this one that is chosen, evidently thinks himself worthy of the abbacy."

The story of Jocelin then goes on to relate how the Bishop of Winchester placed the mitre on Abbot Samson's head and the ring on his finger. He tells, too, of the stately welcome given by the monks to their brother, whom they had chosen for the great office; and relates how a thousand persons were dinner guests on the eventful day of his return. But more interesting far than the records of all the high feasting is Jocelin's account of the solemn service in the stately abbey, when the new abbot, barefooted, was led up to his throne to implore the blessing of the King of kings on the arduous life-work which lay before him, the monks of the house singing the quaint sweet hymn of Edmund before the shrine of the loved East Anglian king, whose body, still unchanged, beautiful as when he died some three centuries back, was the glory of the great monastery of the Eastern Counties—

MARTYRI ADHUC PALPITANTI
SED CHRISTUM CON-IENTI
JUSSIT *HINGUAR CAPUT AUFERRI
SICQUE EADMUNDUS MARTYRIVM CONSUMMAVIT,
ET AD DEUM EXULTANS VADIT.

It was a proud and very solemn hour for the poor monk. For this great work had he trained himself unconsciously through many patient toil-filled years; but it was no rose-leaf couch he found in the stately abbot's chamber, whose crumbling stones we can still gaze on in the garden of the ruins, washed by the little silvery stream of the " Lark." In less than ten years care and sorrows had left their stern mark on Abbot Samson; the ruddy beard and the wavy hair we read of in the picture drawn by Jocelin of the earnest master of the novices † had become as white as snow.

THE TEACHING OF OUR LORD AS TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY THE RIGHT REV. C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D.,
BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

From *The Expository Times* (Edinburgh), July, 1892.

IV.

THE TWO ARGUMENTS.

WE have now before us the two theories as to the composition of the Old Testament

* These strange adjurations were ever on the lips of the great Norman and Angevin kings. The Conqueror used to swear by the " Splendour of God," Rufus by the " Holy Face of Lucca."

† Hinguar was the Viking chief who slew King Edmund.

‡ The office once held by Samson, in which he probably gained his great reputation.

and its appearance in its present form. Both theories relate more particularly to the historical portions, and of these pre-eminently to the earlier books,—as it is upon these books, and the inferences that appear deducible from their structure, that controversy assumes its most emphasised form.

Into this controversy we must now enter ; but it can only be on general and broad issues, the critical discussion of details being out of place in addresses of the nature of the present. All we can hope to do is to obtain a clear view of the two estimates that have been formed of the nature of the Old Testament ; to weigh carefully the general arguments which may be advanced on either side ; and finally, to set forth clearly the reasons which may appear to justify us in accepting one, and rejecting the other of the two views of the Old Testament that have now been placed circumstantially before us. This is a case, it will be observed, in which there can be no compromise in any real sense of the word. Each view may derive some useful details from the mode of development adopted in the view to which it is opposed ; some results arrived at by the one may be accepted by the other, but there is clearly no common ground. On one side we have historical tradition, on the other literary criticism and analysis. Each must justify itself by its appeal to the facts and circumstances of the case, and by its claim to give a more reasonable and probable account of them than can be given by the other, and reason and common-sense must be the arbiters. It is, however, by no means easy in such intricate and complicated questions so to state the matter that issue may fairly be joined upon it, and the argument conducted in a manner that will be intelligible to the general reader. Still the attempt must be made.

Perhaps, then, the simplest mode of conducting the controversy will be this : to narrow the arguments by maintaining the truth of two propositions, the one relating to a comparison of probabilities, the other to an alleged fact. If both can be maintained, we shall have good grounds for coming to a distinct decision on the merits of the case. Argument will have been heard on both sides in two forms, and the grounds on which the judgment is arrived at will be laid out fairly and openly.

We will then, having the two views before us, put forward two general arguments for maintaining the Traditional view as it has been set forth in the foregoing address. One of these arguments shall form the sub-

ject of the present address ; the other and more conclusive argument will be set forth in the addresses that will follow. These two arguments may be briefly gathered up in the two following statements :—

A. That the Traditional view is intrinsically more probable than the Analytical view.

B. That the Traditional view can, with every appearance of probability, claim the authority of our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ.

The first of these statements, into which we may now at once enter, suggests at the very outset some sort of general comparison between the two views, without which we can hardly appreciate the more detailed considerations that will follow. Any careful comparison will be found to show that the two views differ (a) in the fundamental presupposition on which each rests ; (b) in the general character that each presents of the Old Testament history ; (c) in the design and purpose which each view seems unmistakably to indicate as pervading and conditioning the history.

(a) Of these three fundamental differences, we have already alluded to the first. It is this momentous difference,—that the Traditional view presupposes the supernatural and miraculous, and deals with its manifestations without any apparent consciousness that they could ever be supposed to suggest untrustworthiness in the narrative. In the Analytical view, as we well know, it is utterly different. Some of the advocates of this view, as we know from their own language, assume from the very first a naturalistic basis, and regard the miraculous as the most certain indication of the unhistorical and untrustworthy, or, as the newly-coined phraseology describes it, of idealised history. Others adopt more modified views, and either minimise, as far as trustworthiness will seem to permit, the miraculous occurrences mentioned generally in the Old Testament, or, at any rate, dispose of the first eleven chapters of Genesis as a product of mental activity, not yet distinguished into history and poetry, or, in other words, as *mythical*.

As this last is one of the assertions of the modified Analytical school, let us briefly consider it.

Mythical, in any ordinary sense of the word, these chapters certainly are not. That they contain ancient, and, as their characteristics appear to indicate, trustworthy traditions, we may feel disposed to admit ; nay, we may go so far as to believe that they were committed at a very early

period to writing, and, not improbably under two forms, were with other early documents, in the hands of Moses, and were used by him in the compilation of the Book of Genesis. This we may admit, and for this there would seem to be some amount of evidence. Nearly all the most important matters in those chapters have appeared in similar forms in the traditions of some ancient nations,—but with this striking and most suggestive difference, that the Hebrew record alone maintains, and in every particular is permeated by an unchanged and unchanging monotheism, and further, alone puts forward a true ethical conception of sin and its consequences.

What we have, then, in these remarkable chapters is a manifestation of a selective inspiration, under which it may be, in the first instance, the Father of the Faithful bore away with him from Chaldea the early and truthful form of the primeval tradition—a form that, at a later period, under the providence of God, was to pass under the inspired revision of that first great prophet, who wrote of his Lord, and to whom we owe these earliest pages of the Old Testament.

To speak of them as mythical is misleading, and, however ingeniously explained away, inconsistent with the generally-received meaning of the word.

But to return. We have shown that the Traditional view and the Analytical view differ in their fundamental presuppositions. That they should also differ in the general character they present of the Old Testament history, and of the ultimate design which they ascribe to it, seems to follow almost as a necessary consequence. It will be well, however, briefly to illustrate each of these further particulars, as they prepare us, from the very first, to recognise the essential and fundamental differences between the two views which we shall afterwards more particularly set in contrast.

(b) According to the Traditional view the character of the Old Testament history is perfectly natural and simple. It begins with what may be termed the preliminary and prehistoric. It speedily passes into family history, presenting each leading character with a freshness that seems to tell of contemporary recording, and of a studious preservation of archives, which the growing consciousness of a great and divinely-ordered future seemed age after age more distinctly to prescribe. The family history in the fulness of time passes into national history; the laws that are to bind the nation together are enunciated, and afterwards supplement-

ed, when the entry of the nation into the promised land seemed to require final additions and enhancements. The stream of national history is still represented as flowing onward, but under just such limitations as the tribal separations and the apportioned settlements in a newly-occupied and hostile country would be certain to involve. So, for four hundred years, the national history reflects the existing state of the national life, and we have in the Book of Judges just the brief and epitomised record which seems exactly to correspond with the circumstances. With the establishment of the monarchy, we pass into a different stratum of the national history. The contemporaneous nature of the record becomes again more patent and defined, and the history of the Covenant people more completely answering to the character which is to be traced throughout of simplicity, fidelity, and truth. Such at least is the character which the Traditional view seems to present to us of the Old Testament history.

But it is otherwise when we pass to the Analytical view. The character of the history presented to us is widely different. The simplicity which we have seemed to trace in it disappears. In its earlier portions it is, according to the theory, highly composite. In its succeeding portions it has become, we are assured, remodelled, interpolated, and rehandled; and we have no longer to do with the various elements of the unfolding story of a nation, but, almost exclusively, with the efforts of a priestly party, which, at a late period of the national history, were all concentrated on representing the past as authenticating the present,—a present when national independence was fast ceasing to exist.

(c) And if the character of the history, under the two views, is thus widely different, so obviously will it be with its purpose and design. Under the Traditional view the whole object of the narrative is to set forth the history of the Covenant people, and God's dealings with the nation from which, as according to the flesh, the Saviour of the world was to come. Under the Analytical view all this becomes subordinated to the one dominant principle of establishing the Priestly Code, and consolidating priestly authority. All the history of the past has to be modified accordingly; its deep and persistent purpose becomes clouded, if not obliterated, and a purpose placed in the foreground which tends to alter our whole estimate of the essential character of Old Testament history. These considerations alone would seem sufficient to lead us to de-

cide in favour of that estimate of the Old Testament history which the Traditional view seems distinctly to embody. We must not, however, forget that against this Traditional view, plausible as it certainly is, and maintained as it has been from the very time when the Old Testament canon was closed, there are objections which cannot be overlooked, objections to the reality of the force of which the Analytical view owes in great measure the reception it has met with. These objections have emanated, comparatively in recent times, from the critical investigations of some of the most acute and disciplined minds in Europe, and must claim from every candid reader of the Old Testament a full and attentive consideration. This, however, must be borne in mind, that some of the early objections made to the Traditional view do not apply to the rectified form as specified in the second paper. For example, in the Traditional view in its unmodified form, Moses was regarded as the inspired writer of the whole of the Pentateuch. This was distinctly invalidated by the almost certain fact that two or more narratives, different in style and phraseology, *must* be recognised in Genesis, and *may* be recognised, to some extent, in the books that follow. This, in the rectified Traditional view, is admitted, as far as the Book of Genesis is concerned, and Moses is claimed only as the compiler of it from pre-existing materials, those pre-existing materials being of very ancient date, bearing unmistakably the indications of a divinely-inspired selection, and as we have already said, having been probably brought by Abraham from Chaldaea. On this and similar objections, important as they were at the time, we need not now dwell any further. We have simply to acknowledge that here not only was modern criticism right, but that we owe to it, in this particular, clearer views of the structure of one portion of the Old Testament.

I. But it is otherwise when we deal with the other leading objections against the Traditional view, which we must now fairly consider.

1. It is maintained that large portions of the ritual and ceremonial laws which we find, especially in Leviticus and Numbers (of Deuteronomy we shall speak separately afterwards), cannot possibly owe their authorship to Moses, that they are far too minute to have formed a part of the desert legislation, and must be referred to a much later period of the national history.

In this objection there is plainly considerable force—a force which any candid mind

must feel when reference is made to such a solemn portion, for example, of the Mosaic legislation as that which is described as the Book of the Covenant, containing as it does the words spoken by God (Elohim) to Moses with associated judgments (Ex. xxi.—xxiii.), read in the hearing of the people (chap. xxiv. 7), and solemnly accepted by them (*ib.*). In this Book of the Covenant we certainly find, in apparently close connection with the Decalogue, judgments containing, not only matter of great moral and religious importance, but precepts that we might at first sight regard as of a very trivial nature. How are we to account for such an association, and that too in a portion of Scripture where we might *a priori* expect to find nothing but what was of fundamental significance? Two answers seem to suggest themselves:—the one, that these apparently trivial matters are specified as illustrations of the wide ethical bearing to which the primary commandments were to be understood to extend; the other, that the apparently incongruous elements were really additions made at a much later period, at one of the so-called re-editings or revisions through which it is admitted in the Traditional view that the Pentateuch and other historical books did probably pass.

Without attempting to decide between these two forms of answer to the objection, this certainly may be said, that there does not seem anything unreasonable in the supposition that later observances, ritual and ceremonial, may have been annexed to the fundamental Mosaic ordinances, and that the Law Book, especially in its less important details, may have grown, as we know the Psalm Book did grow, in the later period of Jewish history. The objection above alluded to is certainly of considerable force, but it does not lie beyond the reach of what may be fairly regarded as reasonable and probable explanation.

2. A second important objection is also to be recognised in the apparent fact that, in the long period that ensued between the entry into Canaan and the times of the earlier kings, we find no traces of the observance of regulations of the Mosaic law even in those particulars which seemed to be prescribed with great legislative stringency—as, for example, the appearing before the Lord at the three great festivals.

The general answer seems reasonable—that when we take into consideration the circumstances of the occupation of Canaan, and the utterly different state of things between the national union of the wilderness and the sharply-defined local separations in

Canaan, we may realise, not only how likely it was, but even how certain it was, that many laws would remain in abeyance, and would only pass out of that state when the national union became again more of a reality; and when, by the establishment of a theocratic centre, the necessarily suspended ordinances could by degrees be put into use and complied with. In regard of the particular law above alluded to, it is certainly very worthy of notice that in the chapter in Leviticus (xxiii.) in which mention is made of the great festivals, they are spoken of as "holy Convocations," without, however, any indication of pilgrimages to some one appointed place being included in the expression. Here again the objection, though at first sight of a serious nature, becomes greatly modified when such an absence of any mention of a definite locality and other circumstances of the case are taken fully into account. Much more might be said, but the nature of these addresses does not permit us to enter far into the details of these complicated questions. Let this particular objection be urged in the strongest possible form, this answer will always remain—that there is nothing inconceivable in divinely-guided legislation taking into its purview a period and a state of things in which its regulations both could be, and would be, complied with. It was "by a prophet that the Lord brought Israel up out of Egypt."

3. A third general objection to the Traditional view, whether in its rectified or its unrectified form, may also be alluded to. It is the very broad and sweeping objection that the Old Testament history is so honey-combed with anachronisms, contradictions, repetitions, and inconsistencies of every varied form, that a view of its composition such as that which is embodied in the Traditional view must at once be set aside by every critical student of the Old Testament as utterly outworn and untenable.

That it is so regarded by an increasing number of foreign critics, and by some English writers, must, we regret to say, be frankly admitted; but it may be fairly said, on the other side, that the more the Old Testament history is carefully and impartially considered, the more plain does it become that the tenor of the objection we are now considering is not in harmony with the true facts of the case. The true facts of the case are as follows: first, that only a very small proportion of the alleged anachronisms and contradictions has really been proved to exist; and secondly, that assuming as a fact that such a proportion does

exist, its presence can very reasonably be accounted for. Let us remember that we have recognised in several cases the existence of ancient documents out of which the history has been compiled, and further, scattered through all the earlier books, the presence of explanatory and illustrative notes, some of which may have been inserted at a very early period. The process of compilation and the nature of some of the notes will help largely in accounting for the appearance of several of the more patent anachronisms and contradictions. Repetitions must be expected where two or more ancient records were before the compiler, and where the combination was effected in some cases by a simple juxtaposition of the documents, rather than by that critical fusion of the contents which we now associate with the idea of carefully worked-out history. Lastly, let it be remembered that the narrative of the Old Testament has obviously passed through the hands of a few successive editors, and that it would be simply contrary to all experience not to find that such procedures had imported some amount of divergences and inconsistencies. When we take into account all these circumstances connected with the sacred narrative, our surprise must be, not that we seem to find these alleged difficulties in certain portions of the history, but that the number of the difficulties which may claim to have a real existence are really so few.

II. But we must now pass to the other side of the controversy. Hitherto we have considered the more important objections that have been urged against the Traditional view. We may now proceed to consider a few of the leading objections to the Analytical view of the Old Testament.

1. The first objection we have to urge is a general objection which has been fairly expressed by Professor Ladd when he reminds us that the modern theory we are now considering "leaves the earlier formative and fundamental periods of the history of Israel almost completely without a literature, in order that it may concentrate all the productive energies of the nation in the age of Ezra."* We are permitted to believe that there were some floating records, Jehovahistic and Elohistic, in the days of the early kings; but when we inquire how far we can rely upon them as containing trustworthy information, either as regards early history or early legislation, we are told by one leading representative† of the Analytical view that we cannot regard such a his-

* *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture* (T. & T. Clark), I. 531.
† Kuenen.

tory as that of Abraham and the Patriarchs, even in its principal facts, as truly historical, on account of the pure and elevated religious views that are found in it; and, in effect, by another*—that the laws that really belong to the Mosaic age are so few as to bear no comparison with the general bulk of the legislation. Now against such views the objections seem really insurmountable. Can we possibly set aside, as we are invited to do, the vivid history of the Patriarchs as mythical, or as the product of conflicting traditions, simply because they involve pure ideas of inward religion and spiritual piety? Or again, can we conceive it possible that the countless laws and interwoven history which we have been accustomed to associate with the Mosaic period were, after all, simply due to the productive activity of an age separated by wide centuries from the time of the alleged facts? Is it too much to say that thus to crush into the period of the Exile this really vast amount of fabricated legislation and rewritten history is so preposterous as to constitute an objection which the very circumstances of the case must show to be not only valid and reasonable, but practically insuperable?

2. Closely allied with this objection is a second of scarcely less force and validity, viz., that the Analytical view obscures, almost to obliteration, the work, influence, and even the very personality, of Moses. According to the Traditional view, Moses is not only the divinely-commisioned leader of the people, but is throughout the watchful and inspired legislator, speaking with the authority of God, enunciating during the long period in the wilderness laws not only for the varying circumstances of the present, but, with prophetic foresight, for the whole future of the Covenant people—laws which, even when they were enunciated, might have been dimly felt to be applicable only to distant days and utterly changed circumstances, but were to form the chart, as it were, of national development. In the Analytical view, on the contrary, Moses passes almost into a shadow, and his legislation into a few primal laws and a few covenant obligations. He is admitted to have conducted the Exodus; for this, in the face of the utterances of the early prophets, modern criticism dare not deny, but this is practically all that is left to us of one whom all the traditions, history, and literature of Israel regard as the great prophet who was the founder of the

national greatness, and whom every law, rightly or wrongly, claimed as, under God, its author and origin. The actual Moses of the Analytical view is some unknown person or persons who lived ages afterwards in the declining days of the Exile. Does not common sense itself protest against such an absolute inversion of all historical testimony and all historical credibility?

3. A subsidiary objection of the same ultimate tenor as the foregoing is involved in the refusal to recognise Deuteronomy as owing its authorship, in anything like its present form, to him who speaks in it, in its opening chapters, in his own person, and whose words and ordinances it professes to record—Moses the man of God, whom the Lord knew face to face. This refusal is now assumed far too hastily and too triumphantly to be so patently justified by the whole character of the book as scarcely to need any argument. It is admitted that the substance may have been Mosaic, and even that some ancient written documents may have formed the basis of this vivid and remarkable work; but that it was constructed or, as the phrase runs, “dramatised” by some unknown writer in the days of Josiah is one of those “established results” of modern criticism which it is deemed to be simply hopeless to deny. In a word, no other belief is to be open to us than this—that Deuteronomy is simply a republication of the law, some six or seven centuries after its first publication, made by this unknown writer “in the spirit and power of Moses, and put dramatically into his mouth.”

The objections to such a view are clearly overpowering. In the first place, the claims that the book itself makes as to its authorship are too distinct and too numerous to be set aside in any other way than by ascribing conscious fraud to the republisher, and a deliberate misuse of the name of the legislator. Early in the book, Moses is described as declaring the law that follows, and appears in the first person as the narrator of the marvellous and providential story. Towards the close the same statement is reiterated. Nay, more, it is expressly said that Moses wrote the foregoing law and delivered it unto the priests and unto all the elders of Israel, and the statement is repeated in language even more definite and precise. Written the words were, and written “in a book”; and the words that were written embodied the covenant which the Lord commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel at the close of their long wanderings in the wilderness. And then, as if it were to authenticate all, Moses adds his

* Wellhausen.

sublime parting psalm, and concludes with his benediction on the tribes that were then about to enter into the long promised heritage. If any words can conclusively connect a book with its author, these words are verily to be found in the Book of Deuteronomy. If these words are not the words of Moses, then it is only by literary jugglery and a real misuse of words that the unknown writer can be cleared of the charge of representing his own words as the *ipsissima verba* of another, or, to use plain terms, of conscious fiction. The importance and especially serious nature of these considerations will be seen in a later address.

4. Other objections in details may easily be added, such, for example, as the really preposterous conception that the elaborate description of the Tabernacle was simply due to the imagination and invention of the legislator of the Exile, or that the writer of Chronicles deliberately falsified the Books of Samuel and Kings, when the supposition is certainly as reasonable as it is charitable that this much maligned writer was only guilty of using other sources then extant which might have differed in details from the Books of Samuel and of Kings. Objections of this nature to the assumptions of the Analytical view might be multiplied almost indefinitely, but in an address such as the present we can only notice the broader and more striking objections, and so we may close with an objection which, if not applicable to all the supporters of the Analytical view, may yet be urged very strongly against one of the two main supporters of this unproved and unprovable theory. The objection is this—that the elimination of the purely predictive element from the prophets of the Old Testament, and the resolution of what is commonly understood as prophecy into sagacious calculation of what might probably take place, is absolutely irreconcilable with the numerous instances in which the prophet does plainly, to use a prophet's own words, tell of events “before they spring forth.”

This objection few will deny to be of a most real and most valid nature. If we are to deny the existence of the purely predictive element in the prophets of the Old Testament, we must be prepared to deny the existence of any bond of ethical unity between the two Testaments. Messianic anticipations become an illusion, and the teaching of the dear Lord Himself fallibility and error. We are in the dreary realm of absolute naturalism. It may be said that few in this country are prepared to follow the Leyden professor to such lengths as this.

We may hope that it is so. There are, however, it is to be feared, tendencies to minimise the predictive that may be traced in many of the writings of our own country. We are told, for example, that the predictive knowledge is of the issue to which things tend.* This it certainly is, but it is much more than this. And it is this “much more” that we may often perceive to be consciously or unconsciously minimised, until, of the two elements of all genuine prophecy, the ethical and the predictive, the second becomes more and more evanescent. It is, in fact, only an illustration of that anti-supernatural current of thought which is now stealing silently but steadily into the theology of the nineteenth century.

Such are some of the leading objections which may be urged against the Analytical view. When compared with the objections against the Traditional view which have been already specified, it will be admitted, I think, by any one who will candidly consider the two classes of objections, that the objections against the Analytical view are of a more fundamental nature than those that have been urged against the Traditional view. The latter class rest more on difficulties in detail; the former on difficulties in regard of general principles. On such matters, however, minds will differ to the very end of time. Where definite proofs cannot be obtained and only probabilities balanced against probabilities, the individual writer can do little more than express his own deliberate judgment. That judgment will certainly be biased, the bias being due to the extent and degree of the recognition of the supernatural. Each side claims to have cumulative evidence in its favour. Each side claims the right of rectifying former opinions. To this last-mentioned claim no objection can be made; but this certainly may be urged, that the rectifications on the part of the supporters of the Analytical view are far more continuous and persistent than the rectifications made by those who are advocates of the Traditional view. Such continuous rectifications, however, ought not to be found fault with, still less ought they to be made the subject of controversial banter.† They are, at any rate, honest admissions of over-hasty generalisations, and, as such, deserve to be respected. The effect, however, is unfavourable to the acceptance of the principles to which they are applied, and suggests the doubt whether finality has yet been arrived at, and whether present results, about which

* *Lux Mundi*, p. 346.

† As in Cave, *Battle of the Standpoints*, pp. 44 sqq.

so much undue confidence has been expressed, may not undergo still further recitations.

Putting all these considerations together, we seem justified in expressing the strong conviction that the thesis which we have endeavoured to maintain in this address has been maintained, and that the Traditional view is intrinsically more probable than the Analytical view.

THE POLICY OF THE POPE.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), October, 1892.

It is a difficult and unpleasant task to weigh in the impartial scales of criticism the public policy of a venerable and beloved superior, whose decisions one is bound by position to uphold and inclined by sentiment and habit to approve without discussion. Nor was it until emboldened by the exhortations of eminent colleagues that I found the force needful to do violence to my feelings and to endeavour to further the cause at the risk of hurting the susceptibilities of its most accredited representative. Should the statements and views set forth in the following pages be censured as ill-timed, the error of judgment will, it is hoped, be amply atoned for by the soundness of the motives that inspired them. If branded as contrary to faith or morals the decree that declares them so will be hailed as the solution of painful doubts by numerous members of the higher clergy, who will not shrink from imitating the venerable Bishop of Cremona and adding prompt submission to the proofs they have already given of their attachment to the Church and their confidence in its visible head.

We are living in one of the most critical and momentous periods of the history of the Catholic Church. The unexpected solutions given to the urgent questions which are continually cropping up in the social, economical, political, and religious spheres, the far-reaching consequences which flow from some of the new principles affirmed and from the new interpretations of old principles which have been sanctioned, and the grave dangers which press upon the Church from all quarters of the compass, combine to make the reign of Leo XIII. a complete and rounded period in the history of Catholicism which will be remembered in coming ages as one of greater significance than that of St. Gregory VII., Innocent III., or Pius IX.

While the trend and goal of modern civilisation call loudly for a social theologic-

scientific evolution in the Church's activity which would enable her to take the lead in the onward movement of the world, obscure local incidents have apparently succeeded in blocking the way and imparting to her progress a purely political direction, the advantages of which seem doubtful and remote. The two momentous questions which circumstances had forced to the front on the accession of Pope Leo XIII. were the attitude of the Church towards the newly awakened masses, and her stand on the question of science and religion.* From the moment of his election the new Pope was fondly looked up to by the most enlightened of his children as the man specially predestined for the work, and the first acts of his reign, which seemed wisely addressed to the settlement of painful disputes with monarchs and governments and to the clearing of the ground for the really important undertaking, confirmed this ardent hope which was also a fervent prayer.

It was with feelings of relief and gladness, therefore, that we heard of the peace concluded with Germany, the understanding arrived at with Russia, the preparation of Encyclicals on the labour question, and the freedom of scientific inquiry conferred upon Catholic scholars. But when the bitter struggle with our enemies was succeeded by cordial friendship, and friendship bade fair to merge into political alliance; when solid sacrifices were made for shadowy benefits; when the claims of the Poles were set aside in deference to the wishes of the German Government and a Prussian was consecrated Archbishop of Gnesen; when a bid was apparently made for the favour of the English Government, and the justice of an important utterance obscured by the ostentatious haste with which it was issued—in a word, when purely political success seemed to have become the end instead of the means, many Catholics were filled with misgivings, while many more were wild with delight. Everything that has since taken place has amply confirmed the worst fears of the one and the most fantastic hopes of the other, leaving to the former as sole consolation the presumption that what they so ardently yearned for was an evil and what they dreaded was a boon.

On one point both parties cordially agree—that however doubtful the ultimate aims, however disastrous the immediate results of the Papal policy, the motives that inspire it

* It was my intention to have entered more fully into the merits of this question in this paper, but lack of space to treat it exhaustively and unwillingness to glance at such an important problem superficially compel me to reserve the discussion for another article.

are among the highest and noblest that move the minds of men. His Holiness is an idealist, fashioned in the mould in which religious enthusiasts and martyrs are cast ; he lives and moves in a sphere of ideas, high above the plane of feeling and sentiment ; he is endowed with uncommon clearness and compass of view, and possesses a refined taste and a will that neither bends nor breaks. His love and pity for the masses are unquestionable, although his efforts to improve their condition have been less noted than the blandness and accommodating spirit he exhibits to the great ones of the earth with whom his position throws him more frequently into contact. But what strikes one more than all his other mental characteristics is his absolute singleness of purpose. He works and lives for one idea. Every national event, every local incident, every success scored by his friends, and every defeat suffered by his enemies he at once seizes upon and fashions into a means for the accomplishment of his purpose. The very idiosyncrasies and weaknesses of the man have been absorbed in the idea of which he is the living embodiment : and that idea is that the conditions of the present age render the temporal power of the Pope absolutely indispensable to the welfare of the Church. Pius IX., for all his religious zeal and impatience of opposition, was a man with many of man's weaknesses ; an Italian, with most of the Italian sympathies and prejudices, and, in spite of his grudge against the Italian Government, he was unable to suppress a cry of joy on hearing of the military successes of his countrymen, and to a prelate who showed signs of surprise he exclaimed : "I, too, am an Italian." Leo XIII. on the contrary has divested himself of all these human wrappings, and the most trivial of his actions, the most indifferent of his words, are inspired or regulated by the ever-present consciousness of his duties as Pope.

The firm conviction that the welfare of the Catholic Church is indissolubly bound up with the temporal sovereignty of her supreme visible head is, therefore, the keynote of the Pope's policy. All the compromises he has made and all the sacrifices he has imposed upon his spiritual children since his election were dictated by the recognised necessity of translating that abstract opinion into a concrete political fact. It was this that inspired his repeated advances to Germany, that supplied the motive for his crusade against Austria-Hungary ; that warrants what our enemies term the "benign neutrality" observed in the strug-

gle between Greek Orthodoxy and Catholicism in Russia, and that explains the inestimable service which the Holy Father has lately rendered to the French Republic, born in the same year as the United Kingdom of Italy.

Now, on the Continent of Europe and in America, there is a large body of intelligent and devoted Catholics, including Archbishops, Bishops, Canons and University Professors, who regard this new system of policy with feelings akin to dismay. Their objections, drawn from the nature of the end in view and the means employed to obtain it, lie on the surface, and if not unanswerable are at least intelligible. They do not affirm that the object is chimerical. It would be idle to deny the possibility of the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope, at a time when shrewd politicians have taken to discussing the resuscitation of Poland, and it would be absurd to hold that because his Holiness does not command a powerful standing army of his own, he is, therefore, bereft of the means of destroying one belonging to a monarch who does. But they cannot regard the end as desirable. They fail to see how the Papal dominions could be restored without a civil war or a foreign invasion ; and, even if diplomatic ingenuity accomplished the feat, how the little kingdom could be maintained unless the foreign sword and rifle were kept constantly busy against the native dagger and stiletto. And such a state of things, they feel, would be much less defensible than the wordy war in France which his Holiness was so eager to end and the boycotting in Ireland which he was so swift to condemn. France and Russia are doubtless quite willing—if fortune favoured—to trample rough-shod over all that Italians hold most dear, but we have yet to learn that the venerable head of our Church is capable of playing the part of the owl in the story, who for his caprice or comfort desired that cities and whole kingdoms should be reduced to ruins. And if all these difficulties were satisfactorily disposed of, there would still remain the question, whether the possession of the Papal States would prove a blessing or a curse. It would ill become me to enter into the discussion of this delicate topic which circumstances have not yet brought within the sphere of practical politics. But surely, history can be forced to yield the needful data for a solution, and logic may be safely left to draw her own conclusions.

But however unwilling Catholics may feel to cause pain or inconvenience to those who, like the Italian Liberals, differ from

them, their strongest objection to the present policy of his Holiness is not based wholly, or even mainly, upon any such altruistic grounds. It is derived from the sacrifices which Catholics in their twofold capacity, as units of various nations and as members of the Church of Christ, are called upon to make ; sacrifices the extent and importance of which seem to have escaped the attention of the few who have hitherto written upon the subject.

The Church has always admitted the principle, which is generally strong enough to assert itself as a concrete fact, that Catholics are citizens of a State as well as members of a Church. Since the Council of Trent, the Holy See has seldom disputed, and until very lately Catholics themselves showed little disposition to waive, the rights or shirk the duties that flow from this self-evident principle. It was carried to its extreme consequence during the Franco-Prussian War, when French Bishops blessed the soldiers who set out to kill the German invaders, and Bavarian Bishops sang "Te Deum" and offered thanksgivings for the victories won by these German invaders over their Catholic brethren. Now any attempt to weaken this principle, to develop the Catholic at the expense of the *man* and the *citizen*, is in our opinion—and we speak subject to correction—greatly to be deprecated. And this, we hold, is the obvious tendency of the policy of the Holy See. Underlying that policy we find a doctrine which, while it lays the axe to the root of all honest political conviction and severs the ties that bind a man to his party and his country, is not deemed important enough to be raised to the dignity of an obligatory dogma of the Church.

Let us examine the working of this new principle in practice.

The famous letter "De Parnellio" is an instance, which I quote less for its intrinsic importance than because all the circumstances of the case may be taken to be still fresh in the minds of English-speaking Catholics. The postulate underlying this letter was that the Holy See had the right and the duty to correct the judgment and control the actions of Catholics in all political questions which directly or indirectly affect the well-being of the Church ; the Holy See to be sole judge of the question of fact no less than of the binding force of the principle. Now it is matter of common knowledge that the Irish people have never recognised this doctrine since Adrian IV. made over their country to an English prince ; and their refusal to endorse it now

would probably have assumed no more offensive form than silent indifference were it not for the unwanted haste with which the letter was issued, and the *rapprochement* between the Vatican and the English Government which it was calculated, if not deliberately intended, to bring about. It was the suspicion engendered by these circumstances that moved the Irish to impart unusual emphasis to their repudiation, and the Papal behests, instead of being quietly ignored were used as a psychological spring-board to enable the people to clear a much greater space than they originally intended. Thus a blow was struck at the prestige of the Holy See, which it is in the interest of all good Catholics to uphold ; and Church and State were told by priests and people that as Irishmen had remained Catholics in spite of English persecution, they were determined to remain Irishmen in spite of Papal interference.

In Germany, where the interests at stake were far more vast, and the pressure exercised incomparably more powerful, the principle gained a tardy recognition. For years the Catholic party in that country had been engaged in a desperate struggle with Prince Bismarck for rights which it was the height of injustice to deny them. They had increased in numbers and in influence since the *Kultur kampf* had begun ; had compelled their persecutor to journey to Canossa, and now, at last, saw themselves in a position to decide the fate of the Septennate Military Bill, on which Prince Bismarck had set his heart. Their attitude towards the Bill was frankly hostile, and their opposition perfectly conscientious. It was perhaps natural that they should exult over the prospective defeat of the Government, and equally natural that they should feel something more than mere surprise when they learned that there would be no defeat of the Government because his Holiness had promised their support to Prince Bismarck. It need scarcely be said that the form in which this unwelcome intelligence was conveyed was much less crude than my bare summary of it ; but under the diplomatic phrases there was no mistaking the real gist of the message. The ire of the Catholic party was kindled, their answer emphatic. They would not, they said, be parties to any such transaction, the choice of parliamentary tactics belonged to them alone not less than the right to deal with purely political questions on their intrinsic merits. But their disobedience was of short duration. Cardinal Jacobini exhorted and Mgr. di Pietro besought them to give

way, as the Papal advice was but a courteous form for a Papal command. Certain members of the party endeavoured to prolong the discussion by having recourse to the old distinction between the spheres of religion and politics, with as much reason as very venturesome schoolmen were wont to distinguish between truths of philosophy and truths of religion: but all these pleas were summarily disposed of by the famous letter from Rome, which affirmed that the Pope, being admittedly the supreme judge of all questions of morals, and politics being at bottom morals applied to the public life of nations, he is therefore the supreme judge of the rights and wrongs of politics. On this Herr Windthorst made what he called the "worse than useless sacrifice," admitted the principle of Papal interference in politics, and allowed the Septennate Bill to pass. When later on his prophecy was fulfilled, and the bread cast upon the waters was not found after many days, the Vatican declared war against the Triple Alliance, and its organs in the press very sharply rebuked these same Catholics for not turning against the Government, this time on a question which involved momentous national issues. In other words, Catholics are asked to renounce their judgment in matters affecting the welfare of the country, and to yield implicit obedience to the behests of the Pope, even when his standpoint is hostile (as in the present case it admittedly is) to the vital interests of their Fatherland.

Far be it from me to call in question the right of his Holiness to influence and control the actions of his spiritual children in purely political matters. Theoretically it is as incontestable as is his right of forbidding Catholic soldiers to risk their lives in furthering the interests of a nation or a league of nations whose aims are hostile to the well-being of the Church. The only question open to discussion is the judiciousness of the step, at a time when efforts are being made to induce Great Britain to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican. English people have a horror of the meddling of foreigners in the affairs of their country. Without inquiring too closely into theories, they are willing to accept an assurance that Papal interference in the domestic affairs of nations is a thing of the forgotten past. But what reliance can they be expected to place upon the most solemn assurances if belied by established facts which any foreign paper may bring to their knowledge? This, however, is one of the least important aspects of the question.

The Catholic parliamentary party in Germany, though strongly in favour of the temporal power of the Pope, are not yet disposed to employ any means to restore it which obviously clash with the vital interests of their nation. But there is a large body of German Catholics not in Parliament, who loudly profess themselves devoid of any such scruples, and who lately suggested, at a Catholic Congress, the formation of an international Catholic party in all countries of the world, whose political programme should contain but one plank: unreasoning obedience to the Pope. Now the attitude adopted by these persons is as logical as their intentions are praiseworthy. But I submit that the harm which they are certain to inflict greatly outweighs the benefits they are likely to confer on Church or State. No statesman can be reasonably expected to countenance a body of politicians whose political convictions and patriotic feelings cannot be relied upon to determine their public conduct; and they themselves must in the end be demoralised by systematically stifling some of the most healthy impulses of their nature. This, to some extent, is the position of French Catholics who made no secret of their repugnance to play the inglorious part of political Mamelukes; and it needed the strongest pressure ever yet exercised by Church or Pope to induce them to profess the Republican principles which they abhorred, to ally themselves with the irreligious enemies whom they had so long manfully withheld, and to set about unravelling during the latter half of their lives the serviceable web which they had spent the first half in laboriously weaving.

His Holiness' action in France, which, from a theoretic point of view, is absolutely unassailable, affords a striking illustration of the awkward position in which this exercise of his undoubted right occasionally places Catholics in their twofold character of citizens of a State and members of a Church. As loyal citizens of a powerful State, they feel bound in duty to contribute to its prosperity to the best of their intellectual lights and political power. As Catholics, they see themselves forced to distrust those lights, and to give their bitterest enemies the benefits of that power. As French citizens they cannot but attach themselves to some one political party. As Catholics they are ever painfully conscious that they may be called on to-morrow or the day after to-morrow to turn traitors to that party on grounds which have not the remotest connection with politics, and do not

always satisfy the exigencies of political common sense. As honest men, they resent the ignoble treatment received by the Catholic clergy from a Government too irreligious to worship even at the tawdry shrine of the goddess of reason ; and as members of the Opposition they burn to put things right and inaugurate an era of justice and peace. But as Catholics they are forced to abandon their tactics, fold their arms and look on with bleeding hearts while the most sacred and holy influences of religion are being turned into a political machinery to support that Government.

Was it not natural, under these circumstances, that the French clergy, led by its Cardinals and Archbishops, should hesitate and temporise before obeying the commands contained in the Encyclical addressed on February 16 "to the Catholic Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy, and Faithful of France"? The measure of their doubt, hesitation and pain is the desperate attempt which they made to explain it away, and which called forth the further Papal declaration that it was to be 'taken *au pied de la lettre*', and what caused still more painful heart-burnings—the express enunciation by the *Osservatore Romano* (the inspired organ of the Vatican) of the doctrine touching upon the Pope's right to interfere in the domestic concerns of a nation. The view which used to be held by Irish, Polish, American and French Catholics was that the Pope had not the shadow of a right to interfere in politics ; and that, being but a private individual, his opinion, should he offer one, must depend for acceptance upon its intrinsic merits. Several Catholic archbishops and bishops declared upon oath before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1825 that this view was adhered to by Catholics all over the world. Archbishop Murray went so far as to say that even bishops and priests were under no obligation to obey the Pope in any thing but purely spiritual matters. That opinion was, of course, perfectly tenable in the year 1825. It is not sound doctrine since the Vatican Council proclaimed the infallibility of the Pope, and those who continue to think it so are hugging a delusion. But the theory is quite unobjectionable, if only the practice were hedged round with sufficiently strong guarantees. Rights are admirable things in their way ; but if every one were minded to enforce all his rights there would be no living on this earth. Now no wise ecclesiastic would have dreamed of forcing such questions as these to the front on the eve of the passing of the Catho-

lic Emancipation Bill. To do so would have been to dash the cup of gladness from the lips of Catholics and to condemn them to remain for another generation below the level of citizens. The present high-handed assertion of the Pope's right to sway all Catholic politicians will, it is feared, be productive of equally lamentable results in Ireland (where in view of Home Rule the religious question is once more prominent), in England, and in America. Is it not enough that the doctrine is implicitly contained in the decree of infallibility ? Why dot the 'i's and cross the 't's as the organ of the Vatican does in the following authoritative declaration ?

"*Politics*," we read in the *Osservatore Romano*, "are neither more nor less than morals applied to the social acts of governments and to the public life of peoples. Now the Pope is admittedly the infallible teacher of faith and of morals. It follows, therefore, that he is the unerring judge in both spheres (politics and religion), inasmuch as the practical application of morals by individuals and peoples must not be allowed to run counter to the commands, interests and rights of the faith. It is clear, therefore, that as the Pope is an infallible teacher in all that concerns what we should believe in the religious spheres and what we should do in the domain of morals, *he is in like manner the unerring judge of what we should do or leave undone in public as well as in private life.*"

This extract I quote as a proof of a sad want of tact rather than an error of judgment. If there be an error of judgment anywhere it is to be found in the abjuration by his Holiness in France of a principle which he perseveringly labours to uphold in Italy—the principle of divine right. For the frank acceptance of the French Republic involves acquiescence in the doctrine on which it is based, and to which the Pope rightly attributes his loss of the temporal power—viz., that all power is from the people, in whom is invested the right of giving and of taking away. With what face can Catholics uphold that principle in France at the cost of most heavy sacrifices, *in order to combat it the more successfully in Italy*? Surely, from a worldly point of view, the tactics of the Vatican seem as short-sighted as those of the good Auvergnais, who let go the parapet of the bridge from which he was hanging by his hands, in order to take a firmer grip.

The attitude of the Holy See towards Russia has ever been characterised by a judicious mixture of dignity, firmness and courage ; persecution meeting with protest, and indulgent toleration begetting concession and gratitude. Those who maintain that it has undergone any material change since the Vatican condemned the Triple

Alliance are forced to substitute arbitrary interpretations of hidden motives for the proofs that should be based upon overt acts known to all. The worst that the sharpest of critics can say with truth is that appearances are terribly against the Holy See, and the most that we need admit is that there are times when appearances are to the full as important as the realities that underlie them. The silence of the shepherd while a portion of his flock is being stolen by thieves and devoured by wolves may spring from the best of motives, but the flock, if endowed with reason, would need a good deal of argument to bring it to view the inaction in any such favourable light. And this difficulty would be all the greater if the authors of the depredations happened to be comrades of the shepherd's dearest friend and latest ally.

Polish Catholics are at this moment the object of a bitter persecution at the hands of Russia. Their Church is degraded to the level of a mere department of State, their bishops are deposed and exiled, without the right of appeal or complaint to Tsar or Pope. Parish priests and curates are treated like fellows of an inferior caste, snubbed, cuffed and hustled about by every *ispravnik*. Dioceses are abolished, and are mentioned no more. Catholic parishes vanish, and are never heard of again. Laws regulating the religion of children of mixed marriages are issued in a single night, enforced without publication next morning, and endowed with retrospective force over a back period of fifty years. The people are forced to choose between their faith professed in prison, in banishment, or in misery, and apostasy rewarded with such rights and privileges as a full-fledged Russian subject possesses. Catholics are excluded from universities, gymnasias, schools and technical institutions. They are dismissed from railways,* banks and departments of the Civil Service. Their churches are closed, and if they presume to enter them, they are beaten with whips and transported to Siberia.†

Heretofore the name of the Pope was a clarion to these wretched people. It is not a clarion now—now that the Tsar's ambassador at the Vatican, M. Izvolsky, is received with the cordiality and distinction

* The last decree disqualifying Catholics in the South-Western Provinces to serve on railways, &c., was issued a few weeks ago, and deprived 55,000 persons of their daily bread.

† In the government of Grodno a few days ago the peasants of a whole parish rose up and burst open the door of the Catholic church which the authorities had closed some time before and refused to open again. The peasants entered in, knelt down, and began to pray. Several of them were put in prison, some banished to Siberia, and all of them severely punished. Still more recently one of those persecuted Catholics attempted to blow up an Orthodox Greek Church in Warsaw.

due to a generous benefactor, while a cold shoulder is ostentatiously given to Count Revertera, the ambassador of Austria-Hungary, the most Catholic country in Christendom. Beyond doubt the Pope feels for his spiritual children in Russia. His heart aches when he hears of their ever-increasing sufferings. But as he remains obstinately silent—say the Poles—his sympathy is useless, for the Tsar cannot be expected to hear the throbbing of his heart.

While these facts are perfectly indisputable, I cannot conscientiously admit that the unfavourable inferences drawn from them are quite correct. It is a case of the old proverb that he who treads upon the onion or its peel—even though he abstains from eating—must necessarily smell of onion. The Holy Father, it is true, has not publicly protested against the persecution of his flock, nor privately quarrelled with M. Izvolsky. He has not yet seen his way to imitate Pius IX. who did not hesitate to rebuke before the world the powerful Emperor of Germany: nor to take a leaf from the book of Gregory XIV. who talked to the Tsar Nicholas in a tone and style that sent that potentate out of his presence like a lashed hound. But neither can he be said to have been wholly inactive. He earnestly besought the French Government to play the part of intercessor for the wretched Catholics of Russia and to remind the Tsar of the divine teachings of Christ. The idea, as the Holy Father conceived it, was doubtless promising enough. He only saw in France the intimate friend and ally of Russia, and may be pardoned for blinking the fact that this *intimité* is so close that the French Government would, at a word from the Tsar, establish Greek Orthodoxy as the State religion of the Republic. The Tsar may also be excused, if in a French Ambassador magniloquently descanting on the glorious attributes of Catholicism which his own Government was grinding to powder, he saw but a comedian who might be rewarded with a smile and dismissed with a nod. And the unfortunate Catholics may be excused, if they see nothing but the one dread fact, that the persecution is raging more terribly than before, and that it is one of the most successful persecutions upon record.*

We honour the forbearance of the Supreme Pontiff because we feel convinced that,

* The Catholic Church loses thousands of its children every year in Russia. Many Catholics never receive the sacrament of confirmation. Thousands die without confession. In the dioceses of Grodno and Wilna there were 404 Catholic and 465 Orthodox Churches in 1863. In 1880 there were but 292 Catholic and 983 Schismatic Churches.

however mistaken, it springs from the noblest of motives. At the same time we have a bitter pill to swallow when forced to admit that if appearances were trustworthy criteria, the contrast between the promptitude with which the Parnell fund was condemned in Ireland or the well-meant action of the Government is stigmatised in Hungary and the slow round-about, ineffectual methods employed to stay a persecution in Russia which robs the Church of tens of thousands of her devoted children, gives colour to assumptions which every Catholic rightly rejects as insulting.

Thus a month has scarcely elapsed since a Russian newspaper, commonly reputed to be a semi official organ, while boasting of the advances made by the Holy See to Russia, had the audacity to assert that this friendship extends to matters of religion and that his Holiness was prepared to favour an arrangement by which the Greek and Catholic Churches would combine to resist the inroads of German and Anglo-American Protestantism which is being rapidly spread by such institutions as Robert College; Orthodoxy and Catholicism representing dogmatic Christianity, whereas Protestantism is but thinly disguised rationalism and embryonic irreligion. This statement, which is undoubtedly a gross calumny, sent a cold shudder through the heart of every Catholic in Russia. A speedy denial was looked for in the organs of the Vatican, which are unusually sensitive to all statements about the Pope and his entourage. But instead of controverting this rumour, the *Osservatore Romano* complained of the attitude, in religious matters, of the Triple Alliance in the East, and censured the tactics of the three powers, whom it accused of "maintaining the religious *status quo* as a bulwark to protect the political fabric." Surely this was not the most seasonable moment to prefer this accusation or to utter such a complaint. And as if that were not enough to raise the hopes of Russia and to hurt the sensibilities of Catholics in Austria Hungary and Poland, the organ of the Vatican was ill-guided enough to confer upon the Schismatic Tsar the title of "Patriarch of the North."

But in all these well-meant but injudicious moves we see but one side of the policy of the Pope. Diplomacy, like Janus, has two faces; one with which to smile upon its friends, and the other to scowl upon its enemies—even when, like the Roman statue, it lacks the wit to distinguish between them. Had we only the friendly advances of the Pope to account for, the task would be com-

paratively easy. Charity would explain his kind forbearance towards Russia, and if sufficiently stretched, might possibly be made to cover even the vast services which he rendered to the greatest enemy of our Church—the French Republic. It is when we come to look into the dealings of the Vatican with the Catholic powers of the Triple Alliance that we have to call in the aid of explanations and excuses, which constitute the shady side of the ethics of worldly diplomacy.

Concerning the relations of the Vatican to the Quirinal, the bitter reproaches of Ministers like Crispi, and the serious accusations made by friends of the Pope, I purposely say nothing. The wounds are too recent, and I should be very sorry to say or do anything calculated to reopen them. But the treatment meted out to Austria and Hungary of late is a mystery, a diplomatic mystery which calls loudly for explanation.

The dualistic empire is a veritable Eldorado of Catholicism, for the match of which we might search the history of the Middle Ages in vain. In Austria the government, which alternately flatters all parties and fosters all nationalities, affords not a shadow of protection to the enemies of the Church. Even Freemasonry of every rite is rigidly forbidden. The influence of Catholics upon legislation is far greater than their numerical strength in the country would naturally warrant us to hope. In everything it does and leaves undone, the Government is actuated by strictly Catholic principles. Apostasy is frowned at, religious fervour encouraged, and anything bordering upon disrespect to the mysteries or ministers of the Catholic religion visited with swift and dignified punishment. A man who smiled (at the remark of a neighbour) last Corpus Christi day during the procession along the streets was condemned to hard labour, rendered harder by enforced fasts. On the 11th of September an elector who at a public meeting declared himself in favour of the Liberal candidate (also a Catholic, but one whose aims and objects are political rather than religious) was publicly threatened by a priest on the opposite side, who proclaimed that he would accuse him of having been wanting in respect to the *Sanc-tissimum* the day before.* The civil law is often neither more nor less than canon law done into German. Thus, a Catholic can-

* It is painful to every good Catholic to see religion thus degraded to the level of a stick with which to disable hostile electors. Lest this should be deemed a libel set afloat by enemies of our faith, I think it my duty to say that the elector's name is Bechtold, and the name of his accuser, Herr Co-operator Etz of Kirchschlag.

not obtain a divorce under any circumstances whatever, not even if he change his religion and become a Protestant or a Jew. All Catholic prelates enjoy the rank, title, and consideration of princes. They are members of the House of Peers, where their influence is enormous and beneficial. They hold ecclesiastical courts, at which they preside and mete out justice. Their priests cannot be arrested or tried by a civil court unless the episcopal court consents to deliver them up, which it never does unless convinced that the *prima facie* evidence warrants a trial. The Prince-Bishop, on the other hand, can punish laymen for faults which the penal code does not recognise as offences, with a wholesome rigour which recalls the days of Ambrose and Theodosius, Henry IV, and St. Gregory VII. The present Cardinal-Archbishop of Olmütz* has exercised this right with a zeal unchilled by the counsels of worldly wisdom offered by Ministers and officials, and sometimes as many as ten persons have been subjected in as many days to the greater excommunication—a punishment which, besides the awful religious isolation it involves, not infrequently brings with it a material boycotting, which renders the life of the sinner a miserable burden. Thus, every Catholic was forbidden to give even bread and water to Baroness de Beess, an aristocratic lady who was more than once under this ban; and the implicit obedience exhibited by the religious townspeople taught that mundane lady that excommunication might mean hunger, thirst, helplessness, and a chronic standing in the pillory in this world, as well as worse things in the world to come.

Then, again, the property of the Church in Austria-Hungary is enormous. The Church lands in England before the Reformation were as nothing in comparison. The princely munificence of the enlightened Bishop of Diakovar is writ large in the disappearance of magnificent forests valued at about 18,000,000fl. The Cardinal-Archbishop of Olmütz thought nothing of making an annual present of 100,000fr. to his Holiness the Pope, and at his death he left a fortune of about 50,000,000fr. In Hungary the revenue of the higher clergy are also considerable, enormous when compared with the miserable and precarious pittances of their French brethren. The present Archbishop of Gran has on an average an income of about 800,000fl. a year (about £67,000). The Archbishop of Koloesa receives about 600,000fl.; the Bishop of Gross-

wardein about 200,000fl.; the Bishop of Veszprim about 250,000fl.; the Bishop of Neutra 225,000fl.; the Bishop of Erlau about 250,000fl.; the Bishop of Csanad 150,000fl.; the Bishop of Steinamanger 125,000fl.; the Bishop of Waitzen 120,000fl.; the Bishop of Szepes 100,000fl.; the Archbishop of Agram 300,000fl., &c. &c.* The lands of the monasteries are proportionately vast. The schools are under the management of the clergy; the State gymnasia and grammar schools are frequently located in monasteries, and taught exclusively by the monks. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus conduct numerous schools and boarding establishments, some of which are reputed the best in the world, while they occupy many university chairs. In a word, all the rights for which Catholics in other lands are fighting, and fighting very unsuccessfully, and many privileges for which they would never dream of asking, are theirs in Austria-Hungary by a thousand titles. And yet, strange to say, these are the people with whom the Vatican finds itself at loggerheads; these the Governments with which its relations are strained to the point of snapping. And, on the other hand, the French Republic,† which winnows "education" from religion, which banished the religious orders, and continually punishes and insults our bishops and archbishops; which ignominiously thrust out the cross from schools, and the chaplains from the hospitals and prisons; which virtually forbids its soldiers to attend Church on Sundays, and has raised monuments to men compared with whom Giordano Bruno was a saint—this godless Republic is being bolstered up with the aid of the most sacred influences of religion. Superhuman efforts are made by the Holy See to establish peace within its territory, by confounding the only enemies of whom it stood in awe; while the same peace is being systematically disturbed in Hungary and Austria.

The explanation of this extraordinary policy—I cannot call it an excuse, still less a justification—is the adhesion of Austria-Hungary to the Triple Alliance, and her re-

* I should like it to be understood that this valuation is merely approximate. An income which depends upon the value of land, fair weather, abundant harvests, rising prices, and other uncertain conditions, must naturally be subject to frequent and considerable fluctuations. I have derived my information from a trustworthy source, and to this extent accept responsibility for it.

† The American *Catholic Quarterly Review* for April contains a brilliant article by Dr. John Hogan on "Church and State in France," which, for trenchant logic, breadth of view, and American (or English?) straightforwardness, might have been written by the late Cardinal Newman. This is the first exhaustive and satisfactory account of the matter written by friend or enemy of the French Government.

* I regret to say that his Eminence has died since these words were written.

fusal to estrange her allies by espousing the Pope's quarrel with the Italian Government. The aim of this policy may be held to be good, bad, or indifferent, according to one's views of the temporal power of the Pope; but its obvious tendency is to foment hateful dissensions among a people who are sufficiently afflicted as it is with quarrels of nationalities, and to endanger the interests of the Church in a country where those interests are incalculable.

"What have we done?"—ask the Governments and people of these countries; "that the hand which is stretched out to bless and help the anti-Catholic Republic, should be held up to curse the monarchies of Austria and Hungary?" And there is no satisfactory answer.

Nor is it of frank opposition only that they complain; they resent if possible, still more, the odious form which it occasionally assumes; those petty affronts which, incapable of convincing or coercing, seem deliberately intended to vex and irritate. Foremost among these were the injudicious attempts to get rid of Count Revertera, the Austro Hungarian Ambassador in Rome. Reports were industriously circulated that the Vatican could have no further dealings with him; that he was *persona ingratissima*, and must be forthwith recalled. Rumours of his recall were spread far and wide; and a well-known prelate in Rome actually announced it as a fact to a foreign diplomatist. When at last the semi-official *Fremden-Blatt* declared that the Austro Hungarian Government were resolved to keep him at his post, in spite of the "less friendly current" that had set in against him, the organs of the Vatican coolly denied the rumours of his recall, which they had put in circulation, as "unfounded Liberal inventions." Such methods as these cannot claim the approval of friend or foe. Diplomatic ingenuity may lead to desirable goals over ground that is not precisely an asphodel meadow; but the light of religion might surely enable it to keep clear of sloughs and quagmires which ordinary human fastidiousness would not willingly traverse.*

The impending termination of Mgr. Galimberti's diplomatic career by his eleva-

tion to the Cardinalate is another move which every good Catholic deeply regrets. Since he first entered upon his duties as Nuncio at Vienna in 1887, this prelate, whose good disposition towards the Triple Alliance is a matter of common knowledge, has done yeoman's service to the cause of Catholicism in Austria-Hungary. Independently of the circumstance that it was to him that we owe the appointment of his Holiness as arbitrator in the dispute concerning the Caroline Islands, it was he who kept the Holy See in continuous touch with the Catholics of Austria-Hungary; it was he who pointed out in a most masterly manner the danger lurking behind the seemingly innocent demand for a Slavonic Liturgy for the Catholics of Dalmatia and Croatia; it was he who lightened the arduous task of the bishops of dioceses with mixed populations of Slavs and Germans, between whom racial and political differences more than once threatened to snap asunder the common bond of religion; it was he whose energetic efforts to disseminate Catholicism in Bukovina and Galicia were, humanly speaking, more successful than the labours of a dozen missionaries. And now he too must go, in order that the Pope's condemnation of the Triple Alliance may be duly emphasised.

But none of the devices of this doubtful diplomacy is calculated to give a more adequate idea of the utter lack of that tact which is such a universal characteristic of the Ogniben type of Italian diplomatists than the action taken by the Pope's advisers on the death of Monsignor Agostini, the Patriarch of Venice. The object of this action would seem to have been to induce Austria to wound the sensibilities of the Italian Government, and embroil the two countries in a dispute. If this was not the object actually aimed at, it was certainly the only one that could possibly be attained, had the Austrian Government made a formal declaration—as it was requested to do—to the effect that the Emperor's right to present a candidate for the patriarchal See was an exceptional and purely personal privilege, accorded by the indulgence of the Vatican, and not a right that followed the secular dominion, and passed from one ruler to the other *ipso facto*. This, of course, meant that the claim put forward by the King of Italy to present a candidate for the See of Venice was purely fantastic, and could not be recognised. In other words, the Austrian Government was invited to abandon its attitude of neutrality, and espouse the Papal quarrel against the Italian Govern-

* I should be very sorry if it were supposed that my criticism referred to any phase of the disputes connected with the Revertea question, except that of the methods employed to gain the end. The best of governments find it sometimes impossible to get on with an excellent diplomatic representative; and the best of ambassadors is liable to commit an offence against the one great commandment which enjoins tact. This is especially true of a person accredited to the Vatican at the present day. I trust I shall be understood by both sides without making any more direct references to a delicate question.

ment, by proclaiming what it did not admit to be a fact.

The question of the Cardinals is likewise one in which Austria is deeply interested. If Pope Leo XIII. (*absit omen*) should die before new Cardinals are created, the Triple Alliance will dispose of five votes less than it has a prescriptive right to possess. The larger question, whether Austria-Hungary is not entitled, in virtue of her numerous Catholic population, to seven or eight Cardinals, instead of three or four, cannot be discussed with any hope of a satisfactory result, until the relations between these countries and the Holy See have become friendly if not cordial.

If in all these misunderstandings Austria's *role* is the pleasing one of the lamb in the fable, who could not possibly have troubled the water, Hungary, it must be admitted, stands so much higher up on the bank of the stream that in her case the question is reduced to one of fact. As it is likely to be heard of a good deal in the near future, and, I fear, to prove a fertile source of most lamentable results to Church and State, I make no apology for going into it at some length.

The Hungarian Government contends that the unfriendly attitude which the Holy See has of late taken up is the result of the Pope's opposition to the Triple Alliance, and is therefore uncharitable and vexatious. The Vatican, on the contrary, maintains that one of the main causes of this coldness is to be found in the anti-religious legislation inaugurated by the Hungarian Minister Csaki, which no Catholic can conscientiously acquiesce in. The legislation referred to touches upon the religion of children born of parents only one of whom is a Catholic.

Such are the contentions of the two parties. The facts are these :

In Hungary marriage is not under any circumstances a civil institution, the dissolution of the marriage-tie is never the outcome of civil procedure, nor is the registration of births effected by State machinery. Marriage is always a purely religious sacrament or ceremony, according to the view of the Church in which it is celebrated. Divorce can be granted only by ecclesiastical courts, and the births of children are registered only by the clergyman who administers baptism. This explains why the difficulty which arises with respect to the religion of children of mixed marriages cannot be solved so readily in Hungary as in countries in which all these functions are performed, or at least sanctioned and legalised by the State. The solution embodied in

the law actually in force is distasteful to Catholics ; for it decrees that sex shall follow sex, the male children being brought up in the religious faith of their fathers, and the females educated in the Church of which their mother is a member. Nor is this all. It further enacts that if a Catholic priest should, in the absence of the non-Catholic clergyman, baptise a child who, by the terms of the law, belongs to a Church other than the Catholic Church, and if he make an entry in the registry, as he is bound to do, he must likewise send an extract from that registry to the clergyman to whose communion the child belongs, in order that he may superintend its religious education when the proper time arrives. And this the Catholic clergy refuse to do. Their contention is that, once they baptise a child, they thereby receive it into the communion of the Catholic Church ; and that if after that they were to take any step calculated to remove the child from that communion, directly or indirectly, they would be playing the part of wolves, not of shepherds.

The State, on the other hand, maintains that this train of reasoning, to be conclusive, should admit of no exception ; that it proves nothing, because the Catholic clergy have for years been doing the very thing which they declare their consciences will not allow them to do ; and, what is more, they have been encouraged and exhorted to do so by those very ecclesiastical dignitaries who now egg them on to disobedience and political opposition. Instead of offering my own opinion on the arguments of the two disputants, I shall content myself with a brief statement of historical facts.

Mixed marriages, which were legal in Hungary in the seventeenth century, were forbidden in the eighteenth, down to the year 1791, when persons belonging to any two religious persuasions (except the Jewish) were enabled lawfully to contract a matrimonial union. As a Catholic priest, however, would never perform the religious ceremony, unless he had previously obtained a promise in writing from both the parties that all the future children should be brought up in the Catholic Church, the law left the interests of our faith untouched. As an instance of the way it worked, I may be allowed to refer to the marriage of the famous Louis Kossuth, whose bride was a Catholic, whilst he himself was a member of the Lutheran Church. The Catholic priest refused to join the pair in wedlock, unless Kossuth would bind himself in writing to bring up all his children as Catholics ; and as he declined to give any such engage-

ment in words or in writing, the ceremony of marriage was performed elsewhere.

Now this arrangement was considered very unfair by the non-Catholic members of the community, who, for reasons into which I need not enter, never imitated the tactics of their Catholic fellow-citizens. They besought the State to interfere to the extent of equalising the chances which the various religious persuasions possessed of losing or gaining by mixed marriages. Canon Lonovitch, afterwards Bishop of Csárad, was sent by Prince Metternich to Rome to negotiate with the Pope for the purpose of hitting upon some workable plan which, while it would give satisfaction to the large body of Lutherans, Calvinists, Unitarians, and Orthodox Greeks, would not prove unacceptable to Catholics. The result of these interesting negotiations (an exhaustive account of which is to be found in the unpublished papers of Mgr. Lonovitch, now in Budapest) was the Pope's acquiescence in the principle that sex should follow sex. This agreement was embodied shortly afterwards in a law (passed in 1844) on the one hand, and a Papal brief accompanied by instructions to the clergy (1843) on the other. The brief declares that mixed marriages, though illegal, are perfectly valid and binding. The instruction signed by the Cardinal Secretary Lambruschini directed all Catholic priests to celebrate mixed marriages without insisting upon any preliminary promises.

In 1868, shortly after Hungary had regained her independence, a so-called inter-confessional law received the sanction of the king, confirming the principles laid down in 1844—that a marriage celebrated by the clergyman of either party is legal and valid, that the religion of the children of mixed marriages shall be determined by the maxim that sex follows sex, and that petitions for divorce shall be tried by the ecclesiastical courts of the respective parties, while a Catholic who changes his religion after marriage shall be considered a member of his adopted Church, for the purposes of a divorce.*

This law provided for another difficulty, which was always cropping up in the kingdom. Calvinist, Lutheran, and Unitarian clergymen are not to be found in every village and hamlet, whereas a Catholic priest is always within easy call; and as the un-

certainty of child-life renders the administration of baptism a matter of urgency, the priest of either Church baptised the child, entered its birth in the registry, and sent an extract of the registry to the clergyman of the Church to which by law it was held to belong. This duty was imposed upon all clergymen by the law.

The brief of Pope Gregory XIV., and the instructions that accompanied it, bore fruit; the law was obeyed without murmur, and matters went on smoothly for a while. Lest any doubt should exist in the minds of the clergy as to the attitude they should adopt, Cardinal Simor, then Primate of Hungary, addressed a pastoral letter to all the priests of the kingdom, enjoining them to discharge loyally the new and distasteful duties imposed upon them by the legislature. Nor were any complaints uttered by Catholics until 1874, and then only by individual members of the inferior clergy, who began to kick against the pricks. But they received no encouragement from their superiors.

As non-Catholics, however, began to complain that the priests were systematically eluding the law, the Hungarian Penal Code, in the year 1879, decreed a fine against all clergymen who should be convicted of infringing it. At the same time the legal procedure by which judgment might be obtained against the delinquent was left undetermined, although the right of fixing it was invested in the Ministry of Public Instruction. In 1890, therefore, Count Csáki, seeing that the terms of the law were not being enforced, exercised this right, and by an order in Council decreed that complaints should be carried before the Szolgo-Ciro, a sort of *sous-préfet*, who was empowered to inflict the fine, send the extract of the register to the competent clergyman, and invalidate the illegal entry complained of.

This order in Council has been protested against by Catholics; and the clergy, taking their instructions—as the Government asserts—from Rome, not content with opposing the order itself, now declare that they can no longer obey the law, to which it merely gives a sanction. The Hungarian prelates at first stood by the Government, while many of the lower clergy joined the opposition; but since the Vatican has condemned the aims of the Triple Alliance, the bishops and the new Primate have joined the camp of the enemy. And so to the conflict races which drains the moral and material forces of Hungary a religious war

* In Austria this principle is not recognised. A Catholic in that country may change his religion after marriage; but for divorce purposes he is, and always will be, a Catholic, and therefore can never marry again, as long as his wife is living; and the same principle applies to a Catholic lady.

has now been added, which, as the actual Primate, Mgr. Vaszary declares, may bring about the ruin of the kingdom.

What the Government complains of more bitterly than anything else is that the prelates should have first acquiesced in the terms of the order in Council, and then turned against it soon after it was issued. For there is no doubt that Count Csaki consulted the Primate of Hungary before publishing the obnoxious order in Council; and it is equally certain that the same prelate wrote a pastoral to his clergy—which, as he died soon afterwards, was never issued—exhorting them to accept and obey that order.

It would ill become me to suggest any way out of a difficulty which is fraught with danger to Catholic interests in Hungary no less than to the State. What I do venture to point out, with all due respect, is, that as the matter is certain to be satisfactorily settled in the long run (it may be one, ten, or fifty years), no truly desirable object can be furthered by not coming to an agreement at once. On the contrary, crying evils would be removed by the settlement. For the bonds of discipline in the Church itself have been loosened to a lamentable extent by these deplorable dissensions. What, for instance, could be more painful to a true Catholic than the spectacle of a parish priest who, when remonstrated with by his bishop for unbecoming impetuosity at the hustings, replied in the most offensive tone, publicly accusing his venerable superior of lukewarmness, avarice, and simony, and threatening to make good these charges before a court of law should the bishop not hold his peace. And the prelate wisely gave the disrespectful priest a practical lesson in humility and charity, and said not a word in reply. Nor was Father Hegy, of Csongrad, punished for his insubordination. Truly these things ought to cease.

The question of filling the episcopal Sees now vacant in Hungary is another source of discord, and I fear I must add, of great scandal. Thus the Archbispopric of Agram has been vacant for two years, and it may possibly remain so for twice that length of time, for the Vatican refuses the candidate of the Government, and the Ministry with equal obstinacy declines to nominate the favourite of the Holy See. And so great is the want of tact with which the negotiations concerning these delicate matters are carried on that the good and bad qualities of the rival candidates are canvassed and dissected, and they themselves criticised and

calumniated, in every beer-house in the kingdom.

But even if all these differences were satisfactorily disposed of, there would still remain one point upon which no Hungarian Government can possibly accept the contention of the Holy See, and this brings us back once more to the heart of the question we have been discussing. Owing to ethnographical conditions which cannot be reasoned away, Hungary can never recognise the Pope's right to control the politics of his Catholic subjects. There are millions of Hungarian citizens who speak Slavonian or Roumanian, and belong to the Orthodox Greek Church, some among whom are separatists in politics and therefore disaffected to the Government of their fatherland. "Now if we admit the principle," reasons the Government, "that Catholics may take their politics from the head of their Church, who is an Italian, with what countenance could we make it treason for the millions of our Orthodox subjects, to whom we stand in exactly the same relation, to take their politics from the head of their Church, who happens to be the Russian Tsar? *Facilis descensus Averni.*" And this unseasonable enforcement of the Pope's right to direct the politics of his spiritual children is the direct outcome of his present policy.

These, then, are some of the reasons why we view with intellectual distrust the well-meant efforts of the Pope to recover his lost inheritance, and why we wince and groan on beholding those appearances which lend colour to the accusations of his enemies who represent him as a mere diplomatist who courts the strong, despises the weak, makes tools of the complaisant and abandons the unlucky. Nor is it of appearances only that we complain. We dare not trust ourselves to judge his policy by its visible and tangible fruits. We tremble even to contemplate them—Catholic parliamentary parties, encouraged, nay compelled, to eliminate honest conviction from the legitimate motives of their public action, and substitute therefor unreasoning obedience to a temporal Sovereign who is seeking to recover his dominions; a Catholic nation delivered up to the blind fury of religious war, in which the people raise their hands against their rulers, and the lower clergy hurl scurilous invectives and shameful abuse at their bishops; the voice of the shepherd, which should have thundered forth in defence of the devoted band of Catholics who are persecuted for their faith or driven into the Schismatic Church, fallen silent, lest it should grate upon the ears of a potentate

who is the main foe of the Triple Alliance ; and, worst of all, a godless Government, whose every act breathes diabolical hatred against our holy religion, ostentatiously petted and caressed, its only enemies forcibly changed into friends, and the holiest instincts fostered by Catholicism systematically pressed into its service that it may continue to flourish and insult our religion ; in a word, all Christendom convulsed and threatened with dissensions and wars for the sake of the few square miles of territory once known as the Papal States.

If the Pope's temporal dominions were an island, and we could purchase it for him by going into exile or slavery, by giving up our property or our lives, how eagerly would we not seize the opportunity, and rescue our Church and our people from the dangers that threaten and the calamities that have overtaken them ! But the Papal States, alas ! are not an island surrounded by water, nor is our pious desire a practical aim. Is it not excusable, therefore, if on counting up the cost, we ask ourselves whether we are justified in making such enormous sacrifices in the pursuit of what may prove in the end to be a mirage in the sandy desert if not a will-o'-the-wisp hovering over a Serbonian bog ?

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

NATIVE AGENTS AND THEIR TRAINING.

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OUR success in missions depends largely upon a wise choice of ways and means. Not only is this true in the ordinary acceptance of the term, but in a very special and vital sense it is a matter of Divine ways and means. In order to the highest success we must coincide in our methods and plans with what God's wisdom approves and His providence indicates.

Missionary methods, then, are a subject of high and sacred study, calling for prayerful humility of mind, spiritual insight, patient tact, careful observation, large charity, generous sympathy with the spirit and environment of the native mind, comprehensive grasp of existing religious conditions, sober common sense, enlightened judgment and practical experience. The ordinary problem of adjusting the method to the requirements of a great enterprise loses none of its seriousness and delicacy, but rather grows more intricate, when we find ourselves dealing with the religious nature, and seek-

ing the spiritual development along Gospel lines, of a people who have been outside the realm of biblical training and influence. Our problem is to adjust the Gospel to strange and alien social conditions, to obtain for it an entrance, to secure for it a prestige, and to establish it in self-propagating organizations, by means of methods and agencies which may be easily misinterpreted and made to minister to a spirit which is opposed to the whole idea of self-sacrificing independence in the native churches. After working for years upon a basis of foreign benevolence with the apparent purpose of inaugurating an era of pure philanthropy, we have to seek by sheer moral force and the power of spiritual appeal to lift the native church to the often unwelcome and revolutionary conception of making costly sacrifices for the perpetuation of that which they have always received largely as a free gift, and unfortunately in some instances have come to consider as a right guaranteed to them permanently by the unfailing generosity of foreign philanthropy. A man who has always had the privileges of a free pass considers it a veritable self-immolation of both his spirit and his pocket to pay his way : especially if he thinks that he is still morally and in proper courtesy entitled to his free ride. The appeal to his self-respect falls flat, for he has had no conscious loss of self-respect during all these years that he has been riding gratuitously. The implied need of moral toning up, and the supposed importance to him of individual training in sacrifice and public spirit, and the duty, vaguely apprehended by him, of a higher appreciation on his part of the privileges he enjoys, and the prospect of prestige and benefit to the common welfare, and the need of the funds which his free rides represent, for repairs and improvements and general extension of the business in other directions, all seem to him considerations which may be easily passed over and allowed to lapse. If they are pressed and insisted upon with vigor and persistency, incredulity often gives place to irritation ; and there is a disposition to magnify the matter into an individual grievance and regard it as an excuse for the neglect of common interests and public duty.

I have not brought forward this illustration as giving a fair or even approximate representation of the actual state of things in all the foreign fields ; but only as throwing a strong light upon a tendency which more or less unconsciously exists in the native mind, where questions of independence and the substitution of a native agency

drawing support from the people are urged upon the consideration of native communities. There are some exceptional cases, notably the Japanese, where this illustration would apply only in a modified sense; but it may be said fairly to represent an ill-concealed tendency in many fields. The illustration will serve its purpose if it suggests to the minds of Christians at home a conception of the average difficulties of creating a public sentiment in native communities in favor of local support to mission churches in foreign fields where the native converts are usually feeble, poor, and helpless, without influence, prestige, and authority, and with as yet few God-called and God-inspired native leaders. I do not desire to excuse or palliate the facts or disguise the existence of a spirit, more or less mercenary, which influences to a discouraging extent the minds of native converts. I wish the Church to know these difficulties, not that they may be disheartened thereby, but that they may appreciate the progress which is being made in the matter of native aid and local benevolence, and give due credit to the touching and genuine spirit of sacrifice often displayed by native brethren. I hope also that it may lead all to regard with patience and forbearance the slow progress of the native church in many fields toward its own independent support.

There is another point I would like to enforce by the considerations which have been presented, and that is the need of extreme caution lest we should unduly multiply the number of foreign agents in any single field or mission, and so make the development of native agency more difficult and its advocacy seem less reasonable to the native churches. We need a certain wholesome dearth, or at least not an over-supply of the foreign missionary element in long-established missions, that the call for native agents and the pressure upon the native conscience to supply them may be the more pronounced. Where new work is to be undertaken and new fields occupied, there is a manifest call for the American missionary; and it is in this extension of the area of mission effort that he finds a field for his energy, courage, and pluck. With his sustaining faith, his clear convictions of duty, his broad view of his mission, his patience, consecration and assured support, he goes in the spirit and power of an accredited ambassador of Christ. His work will need all his enthusiasm, his persistency, his devotion, his wise counsel, his guiding hand for long years, and it may be for two or three generations; but in the mean time his duty

is as plain as it is solemn and important, and it should impel him to work steadily and conscientiously toward the proper training and the full intellectual and spiritual equipment of a native agency which will in time come forward to assume the duties of evangelistic and teaching service, and so relieve the pressure for an undue multiplication of foreign laborers to overtake the work.

A grave question of expediency and wise economy of administration is at once suggested by the subject before us. It is the proper regulation of the proportion of foreign and native agency in any given field of mission enterprise. It is a matter to be decided largely with reference to the conditions of the problem in each separate field. Great weight should be given, of course, to the judgment of missionaries on the field, yet there is a call for careful scrutiny and independent judgment on the part of those who, as officers and administrators of the gifts of the Church, stand between the missions and the churches as the representatives of the interests of both. The training of native agents is often attended with many discouragements. They frequently seem to fail at the most critical moments, and under circumstances of peculiar aggravation. They will sometimes demand an unreasonable and disproportionate increase of salary, and if denied, they will desert their post of service for some more lucrative worldly employment after the mission has been at a large outlay to prepare them for their position. Their work is sometimes slovenly and done in the spirit of a hireling. The moral dignity and spiritual force of their personality seem, in some cases, to be in a state of chronic collapse. They fail often to respond to the higher motives of service, and seem willing to let their work drag on with no enthusiasm and little zeal. Their labor appears to be barren in results, with little to give promise of better things. Under such discouraging circumstances the heart of the missionary grows despondent, and turning away from his native help with feelings of distrust and despair, he looks longingly toward the Church at home, and prays for a brother missionary of his own race and blood who will bring aid and cheer and sympathy, and give a manly and heroic tone to the loved service of the Master. His call is loud and full of moral earnestness and heart pathos. It should be responded to promptly and sympathetically in probably the majority of cases, yet cautiously and always with discriminating inquiry as to the exact status of the problem of native

agency, and the actual relative proportion of foreign to native forces in the field. In most cases it may be an absolute necessity to send foreign missionaries; in others it may result in an over-supply of the foreign element, and prove a hindrance to the employment of native agents, who should be brought forward and made to bear responsibility and assume burdens which no one as yet has had the courage to place upon them.

An indiscriminate urgency for the multiplication of foreign missionaries throughout the world needs to be tempered and directed by a proper regard for the imperative call in most mission fields for native workers, and the undoubted propriety and advantage of committing the work of missions in foreign lands as rapidly as possible to the hands of native converts chosen and called of God to serve in His kingdom. If we take a sober view of the present and prospective resources of foreign missions, and pass a fair judgment as to the relative desirability of foreign and native laborers in the pastoral service of mission churches, and in the every-day personal contact with native communities, we are constrained to deprecate any such undue or disproportionate multiplication of foreign agents as shall render impossible an enlarged and vigorous policy in the direction of a more efficient native agency.

We do not mean that thousands of missionaries are not needed. The call of need from the foreign fields, with their vast populations and open doors, is the most impressive and startling voice of Providence to the Church in this whole century. This is not so much a question of need as of policy and wisdom in administration. Granted the need, how can we best meet it? Shall we endeavor to organize a stampede of American, British, and European missionaries to all parts of the heathen world? We question the wisdom of this plan. It would involve a very costly outlay in money and lives. It would be defective in organization and imply much ill-directed and futile toil. It would react in discouragement on the churches at home as the signs of failure and mistaken zeal multiply, and it would fail to produce permanent and self-developing results. At the present moment it is not so much zeal in indiscriminate sowing of the seed broadcast over the world by foreign agents which is needed, as it is the steady and diligent efforts to nourish and cultivate and harvest seed already sown, and from this native fruitage to obtain the seed, and also prepare the soil, and raise up the native laborers to further cultivate the arts of spir-

itual husbandry, and give the cheering promise of a natural increase of ten, twenty, fifty, and a hundredfold to the Lord's harvest fields. An excess of foreign laborers to occupy positions which native agents could fill, and perform services which could safely and advantageously be committed to native hands, is a policy which in the end will surely react to the injury of missions. It is costly and absorbs funds which might be used to serve for a larger ministry in the employment of natives; it retards the progress of the native element toward the assumption of the higher functions of Christian service; it is apt to injure the feelings and excite the jealousy of worthy and efficient helpers, who feel that a larger scope should be given them in the honors and responsibilities of the Lord's work; it has a tendency to unduly coddle and over-serve with gratuitous foreign ministrations the native church, and in some cases to make unacceptable the humbler and less highly educated services of the native ministry.

In view of these considerations I desire to offer, at the present stage of our foreign missionary enterprise, an earnest plea for an advance in the policy of more systematic training and more general employment of native agents. I am well aware of the difficulties and discouragements which will face us in this course of action. I would have the advance conducted with caution and judgment and discriminating care. I know there are multitudes of natives in every field clamoring for employment who are utterly unworthy of a place in the Lord's vineyard. I know that there are some of those who are already employed who could be dismissed with little or no loss to the Church. I know that neither these natives nor their friends would coincide with this judgment, and that some low motive of selfishness, or favoritism, or personal feeling, or unfair discrimination is usually attributed to the missionary as exerting an undue influence over him. I am well aware of the instability, restlessness, worldliness, and mercenary spirit of some of the native helpers who have become identified with mission work in different fields, and that there is only one thing worse than a mercenary native agent, and that is a mercenary foreign missionary. Yet this is not a state of things which should lead us to lose faith in native agents. Mission work has necessarily appealed to the mercenary spirit where it existed. It offers regular and very honorable employment with fair wages to all who can secure places. Applicants have multiplied who were entirely unfit for service, and who

were not capable of even passing an intelligent judgment upon the higher and more spiritual qualifications necessary in candidate. The result is that there is usually in every field a circle of discontented and unhappy candidates who are bitterly disappointed that they are not employed, and regard themselves as unjustly treated. This is inevitable, and if in some cases mistakes have been made, and men who were not called and furnished by God have been put into places of responsibility by the missionary, it is due to that lack of perfect discernment which is ever incident to the exercise of fallible human judgment.

There is, however, a brighter side to all this. Native agency has had a most honorable history in the modern missionary enterprise, and deserves a large and generous share of the credit of its success. There are native helpers who are chosen and called of God, and furnished by Him with gifts of heart and mind to do noble service in the Church. There are men and women whose hearts have been made humble and tender and consecrated, and who serve in the spirit of love, with zeal and enthusiasm. Their aspirations are high, their service loyal, their motives pure, their self-denial marked, their success indisputable. They love the Master, study and honor His Word, rejoice in His service, seek the spiritual welfare of souls, and long and pray for the coming of His kingdom in the power and glory of its triumph. They live in natural and hearty contact with the people; they are in sympathetic and helpful touch with fellow-natives; they command the love and respect of their constituency, and are truly prophets and guides among God's people. Many of them are gifted and mighty in prayer, and preach the Gospel of life with tender unction and spiritual power. They have a blessed ministry as peacemakers and comforters and kindly counsellors in the native circles where they live. Many of them do the work of an evangelist with conspicuous success, and teach the way of life with singular clearness, impressiveness, and persuasiveness. Every missionary can name such persons in his field. He honors and trusts them, and prays that others may be raised up like them. They seem to represent the spirit and power of the Gospel, and to adapt the lessons and apply the instructions of the Divine Word to the daily life of native families in an Asiatic village, without any unnatural wrenching of the immemorial customs of society or needless clashing with native susceptibilities. There is a certain native simplicity, tact, good sense, and

homely naturalness in the way in which they state and enforce the teachings of the Bible which it is all but impossible for a foreigner to imitate, unless he is thoroughly at home in the use of the vernacular and has spent many years in close contact with the native mind. Our foreign missions at the present time, almost without exception, are in desperate need of just such men as I have described. Perhaps the most pressing problem of the hour in mission fields is the problem of men—men from the ranks and to the ranks, with God's own seal upon them, and the indwelling Spirit inspiring them with a message, and working through them to quicken and enlarge the native church. Every earnest missionary the world over is yearning and praying for such helpers, and would consider them the crowning blessing of God to the native churches. They could do the work of the human agent in God's plan of co-operation for the upbuilding of the kingdom so easily, so thoroughly, so effectively. Burdens which a foreign missionary seems hardly able to grasp, or which he must handle awkwardly and at arms' length, if at all, they can shoulder with easy grace and carry with a firm tread and an onward swing which indicates a consciousness of mastery where the missionary could only lament his seeming helplessness.

Men prominent in mission service who have the right to speak with the authority which supreme devotion and large experience give, have put themselves on record as fully convinced of the value and necessity of trained native agents as permanent factors in a true mission policy.

Mackay, of Uganda, regarded the African himself as the most effective instrument for Christianizing Africa, and urged the establishment of centres where he could be properly trained by missionary teachers.

Bishop Thoburn, of India, says that we "find it best in every way to select pastors who represent the average grade of the people, and who live among them and will continue to be of them. We have noticed during recent years that most of our converts are persons who are gathered in by preachers of their own rank."

Rev. John Ross, of Manchuria, stated in the recent Conference at Shanghai, that since he took up his residence as a missionary in that field "twelve hundred people have been baptized into the Christian Church." He remarked further: "I wish, however, to mention this fact, only in order to state that the first principles of Christian instruction were implanted almost

invariably by the natives. I do not think I can trace more than four and twenty who were directly the converts of the foreign missionaries." And with reference to the employment of native agents, he said : " And I consider it far the wisest, the most effective, and the cheapest plan to provide the means for supporting these men to enable them to give their undivided time, thought, and labor to this work, just as we are ourselves supported by the Church for the same purpose. It appears to me that the training of native evangelists is one of the most important questions before the Conference. I am convinced that China is to be converted by the Chinese. In order that they should be efficient agents they must be thoroughly well trained, not only in Christian, but in other knowledge. Paul was, no doubt, a more efficient agent by reason of the education he had received prior to his conversion. The time has come when we should make an appeal to the home churches, not merely for more missionaries and lay agents, but for a few of the most talented and earnest and conspicuous men in the home churches, who would be like Sauls over us all and would undertake this most important work of thoroughly training native evangelists."

Dr. Hunter Corbett, of Chefoo, strongly urges the more extensive use of native evangelists, for whose special training he has organized a normal school at Chefoo. It was advocated at the recent Missionary Conference at Shanghai in 1890 that five hundred native evangelists would be a far greater power in China than five thousand foreigners.

At the recent Missionary Conference in London in 1888, strong papers were presented by missionaries from the field urging the importance of native agency.

Rev. Robert Stephenson, of Madras, said : " It is an axiom of missionary policy, which has been stated more than once during the Conference, that the evangelization of a great heathen land like India must be accomplished mainly through the agency of her own sons."

Rev. John Hewlett, of Benares, said : " The history of missions strikingly proves to us how inadequate for the Christian conquest of the yet vast heathen countries of the world is the number of foreign missionaries which the Church can hope to bring into the field ; with what success the Holy Ghost has already crowned our prayerful endeavor to enlist native converts into the great missionary army ; and what powerful appeals are presented to us by ever-multi-

plying opportunities, as by so many summons from our Saviour King, to enlarge the forces of our native Christian workers."

At the Shanghai Conference in 1890, Rev. Dr. J. L. Nevins said : " Among the most important of the subjects we are now to consider is that which relates to the use of native agents. The first converts are, of course, brought into the Church by the foreign missionary. Afterward the work of aggressive evangelization must be mainly through the native Christians. The millions of China must be brought to Christ by Chinamen. Hence it is the duty of foreign missionaries to make the most of native agency."

The testimonies that we have from the mission fields of the efficiency of the native arm of the service are most gratifying and significant. The past year in the Shantung Province in China has witnessed the largest gathering of souls in the history of our Presbyterian Mission, and the result has been secured chiefly through the labors of five earnest, faithful, devoted native brethren. Substantially the same testimony might be given with reference to the success of the Karen Mission in Burma, and the Telugu Mission in India, and the work of the London Missionary Society in Madagascar and the South Sea Islands.

Rev. Dr. Murdock, Honorary Secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, says in a recent paper from his pen, read at the annual meeting of the Union in May, 1892 : " As a practical working method we must accept the native agency, not only as ordained of God, but as justified by all missionary experience. Our missionaries must be pioneers, must make beginnings, and then commit the message to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others in their turn. Our chief missionary success has been by the many native messengers who have run to and fro, up and down their own lands, imparting the knowledge of God and of His Son Jesus Christ."

There is no difference of opinion among missionaries of experience as to the usefulness of native agents of the right kind up to a certain point. A divergence of opinion becomes apparent with reference to the extent to which they should be used. Some would draw the line very sharply and narrowly, limiting strictly the proportion of native helpers, while ready to extend indefinitely the number of foreign agents ; others would deprecate earnestly the disproportionate increase of foreign missionaries, and would rather bring forward and use more largely the native arm of the service,

as more economical, efficient, and useful, and giving promise of larger and more permanent results. There is much to commend the latter policy, provided there is careful and thorough provision made for the proper training of candidates for mission service, and sufficient proper oversight of their subsequent work. It has in it an element of wise economy, is in the line of natural development of mission enterprise, gives scope for indefinite expansion, enlists the sympathy and kindles the ambition of native Christians, stimulates the spirit of independence among them, brings the Gospel into less official and more continuous touch with native lives, and gives promise of increasing harvests of spiritual results.

The contributions of the churches to the boards or societies having the direction of the foreign work are insufficient to supply the increasing demands of the fields. Severe and disastrous retrenchment has been required of almost all our missions for years. The opportunities for advance, and the urgent appeals of the expanding work among the native communities, have been far beyond the official estimate sent home by our missionaries. The missions knew that these carefully matured and already economized estimates would be subjected to a further shrinkage before the expenditure would be authorized by the boards at home. This reduction, out of a sense of justice and fairness, is not exacted of the missionaries themselves, who are in distant lands, with no expectation of any income other than that given them by the board, whose salaries have been pledged to them by honorable contract, and graduated upon a scale which is intended to provide only for the necessary expenses of economical living. It must, therefore, fall upon the native agencies and limit the number employed and the outlay made in that department. Whatever the missionary does in the reduction of his own income is left to be a voluntary act on his part, and noble sacrifices in a spirit of true self-denial are often made by those who have already sacrificed much; and so the funds which are denied to the work are sometimes in part supplied by a quiet and unnoticed act of self-denial as some faithful missionary resigns what the Church has given him to supply what she has withheld from his work. In view of these facts, it will be seen that the contributions of the churches to foreign missions will not permit of an indefinite increase in the number of foreign agents without ruinous economy in the native arm of the service. A few more foreign

missionaries in some of our fields would wipe out the entire native plant. Instead of expanding horizontally and along the lines of closest contact with the people, the mission would exhaust itself in the effort at perpendicular growth, until it was in danger of collapsing by its own top-heaviness. Our mission boards and committees would be like some national government which had exhausted its resources in providing an army of major-generals and had left the ranks unsupplied with the less conspicuous but no less efficient under-officers of the service. If the Church will authorize and provide the outlay which is required to put both arms of the service in a state of thorough efficiency, then the advances of the foreign mission army will be with firm, swift tread and sustained success.

Our true policy, therefore, in view of the present and prospective limitations in the financial support of the foreign mission work, is to expand slowly and cautiously in the supply of foreign missionaries in our older mission fields, and turn our attention rather to the development of native agencies. We should make arrangements for thorough and systematic training of native helpers, and give ourselves with energy, perseverance, and enthusiasm to the task of inspiring and guiding and helping natives into the higher and nobler walks of Christian service. This can be done, and if our mission work is to become a healthy plant of the soil it must be done. It may seem to involve a certain loss of *morale* in the service and a temporary lowering of standards, and a deterioration in the spiritual quality of the work done, while the native agents may be less able to resist powerful opposition and more exposed to persecution; yet its advantages will far outbalance its disadvantages, and the missionary himself can to a large extent remedy these defects, if they exist, by proper oversight of the work done, and by his inspiring personal influence over his native assistants. It will be an immense gain to have the Gospel mirrored in the character of the native teacher, and the truth interpreted by native experience, and the instructions and exhortations of the preacher spring out of the native heart in a simple and natural way, free from officialism, and not associated with the expectations of worldly benefits, which are almost inevitably identified in the mind of the natives with the services of the foreign agent. It will be an immense saving in money, time, and labor to select men on the ground from among the people, knowing the language, familiar with the native

character and customs and modes of life, ready to mingle with men on the same social level and deal with them at close quarters, able to adjust instruction to the idiosyncrasies of the native mind, and avail themselves of the power which is often wrapped up in a native idiom or hidden away in some tone or gesture or shrug of the shoulder or familiar illustration.

This policy above outlined is already the generally accepted one in our missions with useful results ; but it needs emphasizing, just at the present time, as *par excellence* the policy especially indicated by Providence and taught by experience as the one which should be adopted and systematically carried out as a permanent method of conducting the work. Suitable arrangements should be made in every field for the prolonged, thorough, and systematic training of native helpers. No one from among the natives should be selected for this service who does not give satisfactory evidence of true piety and spiritual aims in the Lord's work.

There seems to be practical unanimity among experienced missionaries upon two points with reference to the training which is desirable : First, it should be given on the field, and, second, it should be largely, although not exclusively, in the vernacular of the country. With reference to the desirability of conducting the training of native helpers in their native lands, there is apparently a consensus of missionary opinion ; and it becomes us to be wise and cautious, and to walk by the light of experience in a matter so vital as this. A capital mistake may be made just here in giving unwise encouragement to natives to seek an education in America or England, as a preparation for evangelistic service in their native lands. It is a far wiser and more hopeful method of securing the usefulness of native agents to provide for regular, thorough, systematic training in the fields, and to insist upon their obtaining it there. It is only exceptional natives of the highest moral calibre and finest spiritual fibre, who have been plainly called of God to a front rank in His service, and who have been tested and found true, who will profit by a course of American training. The vast majority of Asiatics would never survive it and retain the requisites of a successful ministry among their fellow-countrymen. We would not, of course, contend that this must necessarily be so in every individual case ; but it may safely be said that not one in a hundred of the natives at present engaged in foreign fields could be wisely selected to stand this

test. It is more likely, however, if this matter is not watched, that ninety-nine out of every hundred would seek their educational and ecclesiastical fortune in these favored lands, toward which many of them are already longingly looking, and hoping that the door may be thrown open for them to come. The other point upon which the weight of missionary opinion seems to be in one direction is that, as a general rule, the vernacular should be the medium through which this training should be imparted, especially in all that relates to biblical education and religious instruction. In many missions, however, an exception has been made in cases where an advanced academical training and a more thorough theological course is called for ; in which case it seems to be the universal custom in mission fields to make the English language the medium of this advanced curriculum.

There are three points which must be guarded with special care in this process of training the native agent : first, he must not be educated above or away from the humble duties of the native ministry ; second, he must not be denationalized in the process, so that this higher education will separate him from his countrymen ; third, he must not be spoiled in the spirit and tone of his service by an unwise use of foreign money. He must be a native still, and whatever robs him of his native quality is likely to be a detraction from his power. While his character must be changed and elevated, his nationality must be untouched ; while his service should be properly rewarded it should be still a service of love and not of hire. Proper pay will not spoil a proper man, while any pay will be too much for an unworthy man.

If proper regard is paid to the considerations just noted, which are lessons of experience in the practical workings of our missions, we may safely urge an expansive and vigorous policy in all our fields in training and bringing forward a native agency. Missionaries should be set apart for this special service of educating and training a corps of native assistants ; buildings should be provided with full apparatus and every desirable facility ; a graded system of instruction should be adopted for different classes of helpers ; a thorough training in the Bible and careful instruction in practical piety should be the first consideration ; then provision should be made for a broad and general academical education in the case of those who are candidates for teachers and preachers ; practical drill should be given in methods of evangelistic and pastoral

work ; candidates for the native pastorate should receive a special course of theological instruction, with particular reference to the errors and sophistries of the religious systems they will have to contend with, so that they will be in a sense specialists in the defence and advocacy of the Gospel as the wisdom of God, in opposition to those phases of superstition and human device in religion which rule the minds of men around them. Our mission boards should regard this plan of operation as settled, and consider this department of mission activity as sacred and invaluable, and give it the financial support it needs. Our churches should be ready to give generously to this specific branch of foreign mission service. The personality of our missionaries will, perhaps, of necessity, continue to be the most prominent point of contact between the churches at home and the work abroad ; yet it would be well if our churches could become more conscious of, and more directly interested in, the native element of our mission fields, and realize more fully that our great dependence for permanent results and steady advance in this work is on the native rather than the foreign agent.

When the foreign mission work which we have carried on shall crystallize into native Christian churches and institutions, and become a fountain of further missionary enterprise to the regions beyond, it will not be possible to continue to introduce the foreign missionary into this enlarged sphere of effort. Native missionaries of native churches must then have their innings ; and why should we not have confidence that God is going to use His people, in what are now mission lands as the chief agents in the general extension of His kingdom to the myriad souls in the as yet obscure and untouched villages and hamlets of Asia and Africa ? Has He not called our Christian churches, within the lifetime of many still among us, out of a state of almost utter neglect of this great duty, to participate in the honors of the modern missionary enterprise ? Does He intend, do you think, to limit the sacred privileges of this co-operation with Him in the crowning work of redemption to the churches now within the bounds of modern Christendom ? Were not His first missionaries Asiatics ? Did He not call Saul from consenting to the martyrdom of Stephen, to be Paul, the missionary to the Gentiles ? Let us not be distrustful of His power or doubt the meaning of His purpose. It seems clearly beyond the scope, as it is probably beyond the liberality and zeal, of our Christian churches of Western

lands, to carry on with foreign agents and foreign money this grand work of worldwide redemption to its completion. Other churches of other lands must have a share ; and the Christianity of all lands to the end of time must be missionary in aim and life in order to its highest development and its truest spirituality. Is the native constituency of our missionary fields to be forever receiving gifts, with no sense themselves of the duty of giving to others around and beyond them of the spiritual benefits which God has sent them so freely, from the loving hearts and unselfish hands of His people in Western lands ? If so, then the Christianity of our foreign mission fields is to be the darkest and saddest failure of these ages of wilderness life to the Church of Christ. It will be the most melancholy exhibition the world has yet seen of the selfishness of the human heart and its capacity to resist the appeal and ministry of disinterested love. The coldness and indifference of the average Christianity of civilized lands must be shocking to heavenly sensibilities, but the failure to respond with grateful and loyal missionary service on the part of churches in foreign lands, which have been both redeemed by the Cross of Calvary and evangelized by the messengers of love from distant and unknown disciples of the same Lord who died for them, will be a still more strange and startling evidence of the stolidity and selfishness of the human heart.

Let us not, however, be disturbed by any undue distrust of the power of the Gospel to win its victories. We shall yet see the triumphs of love in our missionary churches. Already a band of not less than one hundred and sixty evangelists have gone forth from the Christian churches of the South Pacific Islands to carry the message of salvation to other benighted tribes. There are at the present hour sixty-eight native missionaries in New Guinea from the Samoan Islands, concerning whom one of the resident missionaries of the London Missionary Society recently gave this remarkable testimony : " Our South Sea Island teachers are our mainstay, and no pen can write the grand work they have done." Here is actual foreign missionary work, where less than a century ago the grossest darkness and superstition prevailed. At a recent meeting of the Malagasy Congregational Union, a native organization among mission churches of the London Missionary Society in Madagascar—a gathering representative of eight hundred churches of the Province of Imerina, held at Antananarivo, the capital of the island—was recently witnessed the novel

spectacle of "returned missionaries" of the native churches appearing on the platform and giving accounts of their labors and of the strange customs of the tribes among whom they had been residing. A thousand dollars a year are subscribed by the natives themselves for the support of these native missionaries. At the recent Annual Missionary Meeting of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, Rev. Dr. Laws, of Livingstonia, reported that "during the past year they had had from thirty to forty of their native Christians going out, Sunday after Sunday, to preach the Gospel, some of these men walking eight or ten miles for the purpose in a broiling sun. In this way, in 1891, they had had from twenty-five to thirty services conducted every Lord's Day by these Christians themselves in connection with one station of their mission." Another speaker at the same meeting, the Rev. James Luke, of Old Calabar, stated that "they were breaking new ground in that field by the extension of native agencies. All their up-river stations were occupied by native agents, and now instead of one tribe just waiting to spring at the throat of the other, they were sending Christian men of one tribe in among the heathen men of another tribe to bless them and to do them good." These are specimen facts fresh from the fields, and are prophetic of a coming era of missionary achievement in our foreign mission churches.

There is hardly a mission report of our great societies for the past year which does not emphasize the call for more laborers, and the funds to support them; while in several of these societies a "forward movement" of large proportions is fully determined upon. This purpose on the part of our churches to increase the number of foreign missionaries is in the line of highest duty, and yet even though the Reformed churches represented by this Alliance should send a thousand new missionaries to the foreign fields this coming year, our appeal for a systematic and enlarged outlay for the increase of native agents would still hold in all its force. The service done by these new missionaries would soon make the call for native assistants to take up and carry on the growing, expanding work louder and more imperative than ever. The Church can never complete this majestic enterprise by foreign agents, even were she inclined to largely increase their number. The only result would be to greatly enlarge the area of the native agent and multiply the demands for his services. The Church is far behind her opportunities and lags sadly in

her duty, even in the supply of missionaries from home; this scanty supply of foreign laborers, however, in no way relieves the urgency of the call for native agents, but rather intensifies it. If we cannot have the foreign missionary, we must have the native missionary.

PRESIDENT NORTHRUP ON "THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD IN PREDESTINATION, AS CONTAINED IN THE SYSTEM OF STRICT CALVINISM."

BY PROFESSOR ROBERT WATTS, D.D., BELFAST, IRELAND.

From *The Western Recorder* (Bapt.), Louisville, Ky., September 29 and October 13, 1892.

IV.

HAVING shown in previous articles that Dr. Northrup's objections to Calvinism are really objections to the economy of grace as set forth in the sacred Scriptures and that he not only gains nothing by rejecting the doctrine of God's Sovereign decree in the salvation of men while he admits the divine foreknowledge of the final issue of that economy, but, by ruling out God from the spheres of purpose and administration must, if he will be consistent, refer the inception and ultimate issue of redemption to blind, purposeless, irrational fate—having established these positions, I would be justified in claiming that the attack has failed and that further defence is unnecessary.

There are, however, three points, which are really turning points in the controversy, to which it may not be altogether unprofitable to call attention. These are: The federal relation of Adam, the effect of his fall upon himself and his posterity, and necessity of regeneration in order to faith and repentance. These points are in the inventory of Dr. Northrup's arraignment of Calvinism, but there is nothing in the shape of a formal statement, or systematic scriptural discussion of them. What we find is what we find under the head of the divine predestination, a set of questions and accompanying objections, the object of which is to create prejudice against the Calvinistic view regarding these vital subjects. But as it has occurred in treating of the doctrine of the divine decree, so has it occurred in his arraignment of the Calvinistic doctrine of Adam's federal headship, human ability, and the doctrine of regeneration. In every instance the doctrine impugned is a doctrine

clearly taught in Scripture and confirmed by the history of the race, while the only alternative open to Arminianism is in conflict with the Word of God and the experience of mankind, removes no difficulty and creates difficulties ten-fold greater than those it seeks to obviate.

Take, for example, the federal headship of Adam, which, with its grave consequences, is challenged by Dr. Northrup. The death threatened was not, as a matter of fact, limited to our first parents. Whether as regards the body, or the soul, it fell upon their descendants as well as upon themselves, and fell upon their descendants, and still falls upon them, irrespective of, and prior to, their having done either good or evil. Describing the former estate of the Ephesians the apostle affirms, that they were spiritually dead, in bondage to the course of this world, and to the god of this world, and that they were, by nature, children of wrath. The context shows that the death and bondage in which the Ephesians were held were not simply the result of a course of immoral activity. On the contrary, their conduct is traced back to their being dead in trespasses and sins, and, to put the matter beyond all possibility of misapprehension, it is added, that they were by nature, that is prior to any moral action whatever, children of wrath, the just objects of the divine displeasure. Now is it not manifest that Arminianism encounters here a far greater difficulty than any arising out of the doctrine of the headship of Adam? Here, we have men pronounced children of wrath by virtue of their nature, that is, prior to their own personal transgressions. How is the divine verdict in the case to be vindicated. Arminianism has no solution. If where there is no sin committed there can be no wrath entertained or revealed, how is it that men, prior to their having committed sin, and in virtue of their nature simply, are regarded and treated as fit subjects of the wrath of God? Sin there must be, or there can be no wrath entertained, nor can there be any penalty inflicted. But there is wrath declared, and, therefore, there must be sin: and as the wrath is coincident with the very being of the objects of it, the judicial ground of it cannot, as already stated, be their own personal transgressions. Calvinism finds the judicial ground in the first sin of our first father in whom all have died, but Arminianism, while claiming to justify the ways of God to man, must, if consistent, hold that the penalty of sin is inflicted upon the race prior to their actual enactment of sin.

Catechism number two of the Wesleyan Conference finds sin in our want of original righteousness and the corruption of our whole nature commonly called original sin. This, however, leaves the problem still unsolved, for the want of original righteousness and the corruption of our whole nature is, for a moral agent, death in its direst form, and must therefore be looked upon as a penal infliction, and therefore presumes antecedent sin as the judicial ground of such infliction. As this antecedent sin antedates all actual transgression on the part of those who are the subjects of the penal infliction, it must be sought where Calvinism finds it, in the act of our common federal head.

But further: If the federal headship of Adam be rejected, what is the alternative? The only possible alternative is individual, personal responsibility. If the race have not had probation in Adam they must have it individually, each one standing for himself. To this view there are two serious and conclusive objections.

1. The conditions of such probation are such as to render success impossible: for the probationer enters upon his career in a state which the Scriptures describe as a state of spiritual death. It is idle, and worse than idle, to speak of a moral agent, under such circumstances, as placed upon probation. At the very outset he is spiritually dead, and, as we have seen, a fit object of the wrath of God. Such he could not righteously be, except there has been an antecedent probation, and that too a probation under which the probationer failed and, as Calvinism, with the Word of God, holds, by his failure brought death into our world and all our woe.

2. The theory of an individual personal probation is irreconcilable with the experience of the race. The advocate of this theory may well be asked, "Whether he remembers a time when he was not conscious that he was personally guilty before God?" If he must confess that he does not, the conclusion is inevitable, that at that time his probation, if ever he had one, was over and had proved a failure. In a word, if the probation accorded to the race is an individual probation, they enter upon it in their infancy, and, in every instance, if we are to accept their own testimony, founded on their own experience, fail to win eternal life. Surely the Calvinistic doctrine of the federal headship of Adam, need not feel abashed when brought face to face with this, the sole alternative. In the one case there has been a probation given to the race

in the person of a man created after the image of God, in knowledge, righteousness and holiness, while in the other, every man is made to stand for himself in infancy, and that too in an infancy infected with the virus of spiritual death !

3. Besides, this theory that places each individual on probation for himself, instead of according him a probation in Adam, is simply an arminian version of the covenant of works. It is true Arminians recognize the necessity of what they call common grace, that is, a grace common to the whole race, enabling the probationer, if he rightly use it, to repent and believe and thus fulfill the conditions of this new covenant. This, however, is still a covenant of works, as truly as the covenant made with Adam, and the work done, as Watson in his institutes teaches, is pleaded by Christ as proof of the fulfillment of the conditions of the covenant by the sinner himself, and presented to the Father as the ground on which he asks for his justification !

The ultimate principle underlying this theory of an individual, personal probation, is identical with the Pelagian ultimate, viz., that responsibility implies ability. Arminians and Pelagians agree in holding that where there is no ability, there is no obligation. They differ simply in regard to the source of the ability the Pelagians holding that it is by nature, whereas the Arminians hold that it is of grace. The principle holds true in regard to moral agents as they come from the hands of their Creator. They cannot be under obligation to render an obedience exceeding their ability. In their case ability is the measure of responsibility. This principle, however, cannot be accepted as applicable in the case of moral agents who have sinned and fallen from the estate wherein they were created, and through their fall have lost their ability to obey. Their inability is one of the consequences of their sin, and, at the same time, an index to, and an enhancement of, their guilt. To allege that their ability to obey is restored by grace, implies that apart from the gift of such restoring grace, they could not be held responsible for failure to meet the demands of the law, or punished for acts of disobedience. The only alternative open to the Law-giver, according to this theory, is to bestow the necessary measure of grace, or to release all fallen moral agents from obligation to obey. I say *all* fallen moral agents, for if the principle be valid, it cannot be limited in its application to sinners of mankind. Upon this principle, obligation on the part of the fallen to obey, im-

plies obligation on the part of the Law-giver to bestow the needed grace, and the obligation to bestow it must be co-extensive with the need whether of fallen angels or fallen men. It is unnecessary to say that the bestowal of the gift, under such circumstances, cannot be regarded as an act of grace, or to point out the bearing of the principle in question upon God's treatment of the angels that sinned and kept not their first estate.

V.

WHILE rejecting the doctrine of the federal headship of Adam, "as contained in the system of strict Calvinism," Arminianism admits that in virtue of their natural relation to him, as their first father, all his descendants derive from him a nature which is morally corrupt and destitute of original righteousness. According to this theory we derive this degraded nature from Adam, just as we derive it from our parents, through the channel of ordinary generation.

On this theory it may be remarked, 1. That whereas the Scriptures represent the race as dying in Adam, they never speak of them as dying in their parents. Their uniform representation is, that death entered through the one offense of the one man—that it is "in Adam that all die," and not in their immediate parents. 2. The theory confounds the ground of the penalty with the medium of its infliction. Instead of assigning a reason for the sentence of condemnation, it tells us how the sentence has been carried into execution. 3. It leaves unsolved the problem that the penalty of sin is inflicted on those who, personally, are not chargeable with any actual transgression. It seems difficult to understand how any one who believes in the justice of God and the righteousness of the divine administration can rest satisfied in such a theory. If the sin of our first father, whereby he broke the covenant, be not recognized as the judicial ground of the divine procedure in the infliction of the dread penalty of death upon himself and his posterity, there is no solution of this momentous problem possible.

It does not help the Arminian theory to reply, as Dr. Northrup does, that the Scriptures "seem to justify the position that, prior to personal action, men are, through the atonement, free from condemnation; that the judgment which, through the one offense of Adam, came upon all men to condemnation, was removed, absolutely and forever, by the one act of righteousness of Jesus Christ." This position is without warrant either in Scripture or the history of

the race. The Scriptures state the conditions on which men are freed from condemnation, and those conditions are such as to preclude the possibility of men being freed from condemnation "prior to personal action." These conditions are, repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. None are free from condemnation save those who are justified, and, so far as adults are concerned, none save believers are justified. There is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, and, therefore, all who are not in him are under condemnation, and none are in him who have not received him by faith. As such reception implies action, it follows that the atonement has not, *ipso facto*, freed all men from condemnation. The obedience and death of Christ have furnished, in law and justice, the ground which justifies God in justifying those in whose behalf Christ stood, obeying and suffering, but not until the redemption purchased is applied through the agency of the Holy Ghost are their relations to the law changed. We must not frame theories of redemption which ignore the work of the Spirit in applying it at any stage in the history of the redeemed. As regards infants, it is easy to show that it is only on Calvinistic principles they can be made partakers of salvation.

It seems hard to imagine how one who rejects, as Arminians do, the doctrine of the imputation of the guilt of Adam's one offense, can speak of that judgment (that guilt?) as having been removed "by the one act of righteousness of Jesus Christ." If the guilt incurred by that one offense was not imputed to Adam's posterity, there was no need for the removal of it from them. This is another of the incongruities of the Arminian position. Adam's sin is not imputed, and yet the death of Christ is necessary to free men from the guilt of it!

Dr. Northrup, in conformity with the Arminian theory, refers the deliverance of the race from the condemnation consequent on Adam's one offense, to "the one act of righteousness of Jesus Christ." The Arminian doctrine limits Christ's work to his atoning death, and leaves out of the account his life of obedience whereby he met the claims of the precepts of the law. It is admitted that it was necessary that he should be conformed to the law in all respects, and that he should satisfy its preceptive as well as its penal claims, but it is held that the reason was, that if he had not come up to the requirements of the law, he could not have been accepted as a lamb without spot, and would not have been duly

qualified to take his place upon the altar as an atoning sacrifice. This limitation of that work whereby our Lord achieved our redemption is utterly destitute of Scriptural foundation. From the outset he stood in his people's stead. For them he was made under the law that he might redeem them from its curse. That law was written in his heart, and he was the end of it for righteousness to every one that believeth upon him. Being found in fashion as a man, and from that moment, he humbled himself and became obedient even unto death, yea the death of the Cross. Even unto death. The Revisionists so render *mechri tha natou* and do so rightly, bringing out clearly the force of *mechri* which conveys the idea of continuous action during the whole period referred to. As this period embraces the entire history of his humiliation, extending from the time in which our Saviour was found in fashion as a man till his death on the Cross, it follows that during that entire time he was engaged in one continuous course of obedience—an obedience inseparable from suffering—which reached its climax and consummation when he cried, "It is finished," and gave up the ghost. That this course of obedience was redemptive, rendered by him as our Redeemer, is manifest from the fact that it is mentioned by the Apostle as embraced in the ground of the action of the Father in exalting him above all things in heaven and on earth.

Besides, we must remember that neither in his humiliation nor in his exaltation, neither in his life nor in his death, is our Saviour regarded or treated by the Father as an isolated, unrelated individual, whose action or suffering had reference to himself alone. It was not for himself he became incarnate. It was because the children whom the Father had given him were partakers of flesh and blood, that he himself likewise took part of the same, and this was one of the conditions of his being able to bring to naught him that had the power of death. When he hung on the Cross, his whole church was regarded as hanging there with him, and when he, the One, died, he is represented as dying for all, and they all are represented (2 Cor. v. 14) as dying in and with him. And as it was in his death, so was it in his resurrection. His people are represented (Ephes. 2) as being quickened and raised up together with him, and made to sit together with him in the heavenly places. That is, they were quickened when he was quickened, raised when he was raised, and seated in the heavenly places when he was enthroned there. As neither

the apostle nor the members of the church at Ephesus were quickened into spiritual life when Christ's lifeless body was quickened in the tomb of Joseph, nor raised from the dead when he was raised, nor translated from earth to the heavenly places at the time of his enthronement in heaven, it is manifest that the doctrine under lying this passage is that of the federal headships of Christ with whom his church in the entirety of her membership is identified both in his humiliation and exaltation.

It is, therefore, most unwarrantable to speak of the work of Christ, by which he wrought our redemption, as "one act of righteousness." Such reduction of his work betrays great unacquaintance with the elementary difficulties of the problem which the economy of redemption was designed to solve. While the economy is an economy of grace—a fact which Arminianism fails to appreciate, however much it speaks of grace—it is, nevertheless, and none the less, an economy whose object is to meet the claims of the law upon those whom it seeks to save. As the law consists, in its very essence, of precepts, the penalty being attached to it only in case of transgression, it is manifest that a work which singles out the penalty and deals with it alone, cannot be regarded as satisfying the law in the fulness of its requirements, as it makes no provision for the satisfaction of its precepts. The only legal issue of such a work would be the exemption of the transgressor from the infliction of the penalty. It might, perhaps, furnish a basis for his pardon; but certainly it would be utterly inadequate as a judicial ground of his justification. If, as the apostle teaches (Rom. 3:25, 26), God must be just in justifying him that believeth in Jesus, the ground on which he pronounces the believer just must be such as to satisfy the demands both of the precept and the penalty. The reduction of Christ's work to the one act of righteousness enacted on the Cross, involves the reduction of its legal outcome to a mere act of pardon. This is a grave reduction. It leaves the pardoned one in a most anomalous position. He is simply exempt from punishment. He is pardoned, but not justified. His case is that of a criminal whom his sovereign has forgiven, but whom he has not restored to favor or granted access to his presence. Of such an one it could not be said, that being justified by faith he has peace with God, or that he has access by faith into the grace wherein he stands and rejoices in hope of the glory of God.

It is obvious, on the slightest considera-

tion of the elements which enter into the determination of this great question, that the reduction of Christ's work to the limits of the transaction on Calvary, must involve a thorough re-cast of the language of the New Testament, and the elimination from it of every term which expresses the idea of a forensic procedure on the part of the Father, when, through the agency of the Spirit, he applies to sinners the redemption purchased by Christ. Such terms can have no place in an economy of mere condonation, and the advocates of such an economy have no right to claim that they hold and teach the doctrine of justification by faith, as proclaimed by apostles and prophets, and as given back to the church by the men who, under God, wrought her deliverance from the bondage of Rome.

THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

From *The Rock* (Ch. Eng.), London, October 7, 1892.

[EDITORIAL.]

IT may not be saying much, but the Church Congress has been quite as good as could have been expected. No one, we think, who has been present at Folkestone will complain that it has been dull, or lacking in suggestion. It has, indeed, shown itself willing to listen with patience to men of the most different views, and it has had set before it a marvellous medley of opinions. The sermon of the Head Master of Harrow and the opening address of the Archbishop of Canterbury gave a fair indication of the spirit which should prevail, and which so far has prevailed at the meetings of Congress. There has been a disposition to regard the Church of England as touching national life at all points; as bound to provide for needs of varying character, and to embrace within its borders men of many minds. People who possess strong, well-defined views must have heard much that was painful to them. What they regard as the very foundations of the faith have been attacked by members of the Congress—in most cases by clergymen. It has, indeed, been noticeable that nearly always the laity were more conservative in their speeches than the clergy. From our own point of view there has been much for which to be grateful, as well as good deal that was depressing. Evangelical men had allotted to them but a small share in the proceedings of Congress as readers of papers or selected speakers. But they have made

up in quality for what they lacked in quantity. This was notably the case at the discussion on "Canon Law in connection with the discipline and government of the Church of England." The very able and learned paper of Dr. Tristram was barely intelligible to the lay mind; but Chancellor Dibdin was clear, forcible, and intelligible even to the unlearned, and pleasant to listen to. As one heard his masterly reasoning one felt that even a subject very dry could become instinct with human interest when treated by a mind full of knowledge and in touch with the feelings of the times. He spoke as a lawyer, but still more as a Christian and a Churchman. Naturally, some of his hearers would not like his assertion that "Canon Law without the Pope is rather like a play of 'Hamlet' with the part of Hamlet left out. The result is that English Canon Law is hard to study (one cause of its unfortunate neglect) and extremely difficult to apply in practice. Again, as a code, it ignores completely the power of the laity for the simple reason that it belongs to an age when the laity had no power." It was curious to notice that the three learned lawyers who wrote and spoke all through defended the rights of the laity, and that as persistently the clerical readers and speakers spoke of the spiritual power as if it resided in the clergy only. Unpalatable as some of Chancellor Dibdin's remarks must have been to the meeting, which, by the way, was a very crowded one, he was cheered very heartily when he sat down. This may have been partly due to the hopeful view expressed as to the future of Canon Law. "However obsolete," said the Chancellor, "the present Canon Law may become, some Canon Law in the sense of canons made by the Church's authority, for the management of her own members, is a necessity likely to be increasingly recognised as time goes on. It is not therefore abolition, but the reform of Canon Law which such a change as the revival of discipline seems to render necessary." The hopeful tone, too, of the paper had its effect. The reader did not despair of the revival of such discipline as will at any rate get rid of "criminous clerks," and keep notorious evil livers away from the Lord's table. As to the former question, something has already been done, and as to the latter, public opinion seems running in the right direction.

We could not help wishing that on other questions men of equal calibre were representing Evangelical religion. Canon Freemantle and Mr. Philip Vernon Smith spoke boldly and well on the same subject. There

was some disposition to cry them down, but they were too strong, too sure of their ground to give way to clamour. We can remember a time when such sentiments as were put forward on both sides in this discussion would have caused loud cries and counter cries. Feeling ran high, but it never got beyond control. Probably, however, the Folkestone Church Congress will be best remembered as one in which Christian Socialism came prominently to the front, although we do not forget that Mr. Champion was invited to Wolverhampton. Here, as in the case of priestly power, and what are called advanced views as to revealed religion, the clergy were in the van. Canon Scott Holland made a vigorous defence of Trades Unionism. He seemed more sure of its virtues than one of its own leading lights, Mr. J. Mawdesley, was. This latter gentleman stated his case in moderate language. He was fair to the clergy, more fair than some of themselves were to their own order. Perhaps even more significant of the trend of opinion than the strong language of Canon Scott-Holland in favour of trade combinations was the evident approval of his views entertained by a large part of the audience. Many of the younger clergy cheered him as vigorously as in past congresses young clergymen have been wont to cheer the strong sacerdotalism of their leaders. No one can say that, taking them as a body, the clergy are indifferent to the social questions of the day. The attendance at the Congress Hall when the needs of agricultural parishes was discussed was very large. Once more a clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Fry, uttered the most Socialistic views that, with one exception, were put before the Congress. That exception came from an unexpected quarter. The Army is, as a rule, more conservative than the Church. It is quite as closely, if not more closely, allied with the owners of land than the clergy are. As was to be expected in a place like Folkestone, the laymen who spoke were in most cases officers in the Army. As was also to be expected, their support of the "old paths" was generally emphatic. But every rule has its exceptions. Major Edwards went beyond the most advanced Socialism which has so far been promulgated. He spoke of the clergy as allied with the landlords against the labourers, and was met with a perfect storm of dissent. It seemed a pity that the calm and judicial speech of Mr. Justice Grantham could not have followed that of Major Edwards, who, by the way, would not obey the bell, and was

silenced by clamour. Here, again, the Major was exceptional, as there has been on the whole most exemplary obedience to the inexorable bell. Even when the Congress was most eager to hear a speaker after his time had elapsed, the speaker sat down. The Bishop of Manchester was a case in point. He had roused the Congress to the fever-heat of enthusiasm. Cheers, repeated again and again, had greeted his statement that now Australia has decided not to exclude the name of God from her elementary schools. Every one felt that he had much more of moment to say on the subject, so dear to Churchmen, of religious teaching for the young; but the Bishop was dutiful to the bell, and could not be induced to proceed with the remarks to which the Congress would so gladly have listened. The last word on the Church Congress cannot yet be spoken, but we are disposed to think that it will be remembered as one which was valuable for indicating some of the directions which modern thought is taking so far as Churchmen are concerned. Nor will those who remember former congresses be likely to differ from us when we add that Ritualism seems to be on the wane, though it is far from extinct.

THE BISHOP OF WORCESTER AT GRINDELWALD.

From *The Church Times* (Ch. Eng.), London, September 23, 1892.

[EDITORIAL.]

In the speech delivered by the Bishop of Worcester at the Grindelwald Conference all possible schisms and schismatical bodies found their complete justification and defence. Let but a man find a sufficient number of followers to aid and abet his opposition to some dogma or point of discipline of the Catholic Church, let them set up a conventicle, and straightway you have a "Church" of equal authority with the Apostolic foundation of this land. The author of the schism and head of the new "Church" has only to preach with sufficient acceptability, and administer such rites as may bear a more or less close resemblance to the sacraments, to receive from this prelate full recognition and the episcopal benediction. Archbishop Whitgift quoted with approbation from St. Augustine that, "although a man agree with the Scriptures in the chief and principal points of doctrine, yet, if he divide himself from the unity of the Church, he is not a mem-

ber of the same," adding thereto "the Word of God is oftentimes preached, or the sacraments administered, in the conventicles of the Anabaptists and other heretics; and yet, as Augustine saith, 'those that break the unity and peace of the Church are not in the Church.'" The Bishop of Worcester thinks differently, and yet has the courage to quote the name of Whitgift in defence of his position. His lordship denies that he ever said "that one Church is as good as another," and, as amongst the 200 "Churches," there are ethical as well as doctrinal degrees of goodness, and any attempt at determining the relative values of even a few of them would probably have brought a considerable supply of hornets around the episcopal head, we admire his discretion, and accept the denial. But will he not confide to us in private some definition of goodness, and say also in private whether amongst these 200 "Churches" there are any not quite so good as the rest? Otherwise, we fear we must conclude that the "goodness" of the Church which has the distinction of claiming his affections, lies in some more material circumstance than purity of doctrine and fidelity to apostolic discipline. All the sects being "Churches" within this realm, and, as "Churches," possessing an equal share of divine authority and power, it cannot matter in the least to which of them a citizen may attach himself. In that case is it not a little arrogant on the part of what is called the Church of England to retain her supremacy in the nation, and receive a ceremonial recognition from the State not conceded to other "Churches"? Dissenters, of course, have long questioned the rights of Bishops and other representatives of the Church of England to peculiar honour, and will naturally look to his lordship of Worcester to give effect to his own statements. To the poor and unlearned inquirer after truth his lordship must henceforth answer, "Go where you will, all Churches are open to you, Baptist, Independent, Wesleyan, Salvationist, all are Churches, and all equally true."

The "validity" of non-episcopal "orders" follows the Bishop's previous acknowledgement of "Churches," and a number of names of English divines are quoted on behalf of the plea, but will his lordship publish any extracts he may discover in the authors noticed by way of proving that the forerunners of his sectarian brethren were ever regarded by the Bishops of the Church as validly ordained, and, consequently, admitted to serve in our churches?

Touching the Lambeth Conference proposals, the Bishop was obliged to defend the principle of creed formation, and little wonder, for not one of the bodies represented before him so much as pretends to be bound by any creed at all in practice. In theory they must, because some creed or other is in the trust deeds of most of their chapels; but how many of the "trust creeds" are taught loyally and honestly? We have just seen how Wesleyan preachers are driven to say one thing about Baptism and allow wilful members to follow another and quite contrary course. What hope is there of better result if all these schismatics and heretics are to come in and propagate their views and practices under episcopal licence? The differences of opinion within the Church are not so few or unimportant that we can second Bishop Perowne's invitation to the sects to bring with them an additional supply of diversities; rather, we suggest they should try a little "reunion" amongst themselves, upon any basis they like, and thereby prove the possibility of coming to terms with the Church.

Concerning Apostolical Succession, the bugbear of many who are willing to accept what is termed "the historic Episcopate," the Bishop believes that Presbyterians have it, and that it may be allowed of Churches rather than of Bishops. Of the teaching that a ministry, to be valid, must be able to trace its descent from the Apostles, he says it is "a monstrous doctrine . . . something too fearful to contemplate." Whitgift on the other hand (works II. p. 356), says "in that the Apostles did appoint Bishops in Churches which they had planted, and gave unto them such authority (of government, etc.), it is evident that therein they made them their successors, which they did not without sufficient testimony and warrant of the Spirit of God." If, therefore, Whitgift's statement be true, it is nothing more than reasonable to assert that Bishops lawfully made by those who have received consecration from their predecessors must be, in a sense entirely different from that which is claimed by the sects, true successors of the Apostles and depositaries of an authority which no sectarian and schismatical ministry can possibly enjoy. Dr. Perowne believes firmly in the Apostolic origin of Episcopacy; why should he think it strange that we hold to the invalidity of any episcopal succession which is non-Apostolic; and if Episcopacy be of such high antiquity as he admits, how can there be a Presbyterian "succession," a thing unheard of until comparatively recent times, and only in-

vented when the evil consequences of destroying episcopacy have made themselves apparent to all.

The scheme for reconciling the sects by assuming the validity of Dissenting orders in the case of living preachers, but requiring all future ministers to be lawfully ordained, is very plausible and inviting, and might be profitably discussed if there were the least indication of its practicability and permanency, and freedom from heretical taint. But it will never answer, for the simple reasons that, first, no instructed Churchman would so much as dream of receiving the Sacraments at the hand of these nondescript ministers, and a dozen cases of refusal by laymen to ratify the episcopal action would stir up more ill-feeling than the whole bench of Bishops could possibly allay. The best of the "ministers" would feel themselves slighted, and probably revert to their former condition. In the second place, without some definite acknowledgment of error and act of repentance for past schism, the reconciled bodies would all feel at liberty to cast off the union; and even if they remained their example would have no effect on the non-reconciled sects save to lead to an accession of strength by the adhesion of the many who love the disidence of Dissent and believe in the Divine right of separation. The Grindelwald debaters admit the inconvenience of separation, but not the sin of schism; they must know that without a confession of error their proposed reunion would have no moral or lasting effect upon many thousands of their fellow separatists, and in a few years we should be in much the same position as we are to-day.

However much we may differ from the Grindelwald proposals, and especially from those of one who ought to know better than to evacuate his own office of nearly all that makes it precious in the eyes of his fellow Churchman, it would not be seemly to let the occasion pass without offering some indication of possible concessions. We should be prepared to see all reconciled ministers licensed by the Bishops preach in our churches and in their own chapels, and assist at the Sacrament in churches, on condition that they and their people would resort to their parish churches for the Sacrament, and not allow any Celebration in the chapels. The chapels might be recognised as the prayer and preaching-houses of the societies at present owning them, and the financial arrangements, appointment of preachers and subordinate officers, could be left as at present. Future ministers

elected by such societies should be required to receive Holy Orders, and allowed the same status within the parish churches as all other lawfully ordained clergy. Just what John Wesley contemplated would be perfectly feasible, and, moreover, secure to those who desire it a great deal more liberty in the way of extempore prayer, etc., than can be allowed in the parish churches. As societies attached to the Church, and in full communion with her, the various congregations would be more effective for good than they can ever be in their present isolation, disunion, and mutual mistrust. The proposal involves an equal amount of concession, requiring no more than is necessary for the maintenance of authority and order, and yielding as much as the Church can give without danger to her fundamental principles. A large number of Catholic clergy are already prepared to meet Dissenters on these lines, and to our knowledge have intimated as much to many of the ministers.

Into the scandal of the Communion service held by the Bishop of Worcester, when he admitted many to Communion who neither were, nor were willing to be, confirmed, we can say but little here. The event is too painful to dwell upon, but we can assure his lordship that his action so far from promoting unity will prevent all right-minded men, Churchmen at least, from sympathising with his efforts and, besides doing harm to tender consciences, will cause many to consider whether a Bishop who manifests such lawlessness can retain their allegiance and respect. One who can thus play with first principles and flatly contradict the Prayer Book order, stands self condemned. His conduct was inexcusable, and ought not to pass without grave reprimand from the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Canterbury. History alone, apart from all considerations of justice and truth, should teach Bishop Perowne that toying with Dissent in this manner is exactly the way to increase schism and destroy concord.

A NORWEGIAN CRITICISM OF PROFESSOR DRUMMOND.*

From *The British Weekly* (Nonconformist), London, September 22, 1892.

THE change in the Christian theology, so often mentioned, so easily praised, so easily

deplored, a movement which is taking place over the whole Protestant world, may certainly be called a Revolution, but it must also be described as a *quiet* Revolution, since it is going on so imperceptibly, little by little, through so long a period. One might indeed say that it began away back a hundred years ago with Kant's *Critiques*, where it had its philosophic roots. It is not any work of subversion with crack and crash, after which of course a reaction sets in, but a soundless gliding down inch by inch into the depths of the earth. It is quite inconceivable that a view like that which asserted itself in the dogmatics of the seventeenth century will again come to exercise any sovereignty since it lacks persuasive power. In the meantime, however, from the fact that the movement has taken place and is taking place so slowly, we may comfort ourselves with the hope that it has its inner necessity, and will be found to have its blessing.

The modern Christian author who best understands the problem of the age, to bring in the natural as a moment in Christianity, seems to be Drummond. His chief work, 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World,' by its very title indicates the problem. His other writings also show in various ways how he sees a solution of the difficulties of the age just by representing Christianity as a natural thing. We have had not a few things to criticise in Drummond's works, *e.g.*, that he has only an eye for Christ *in us*, and not for Christ *for us*. That may perhaps be justified. Besides, I do not know how far that one-sidedness may be a necessary consequence from his starting-point. Other objections to his views might readily be adduced, but these would lead us too far away from our subject. But there is something which I find specially ingenious and meritorious in Drummond, something I have not found in any other author, at any rate not set forth with the same freshness and originality. I shall from the many pertinent quotations from his books confine myself to a single one, which at the same time illustrates his whole Christian philosophy, and also the position which I at present am seeking to make clear.

In the 'Programme of Christianity' he says: "As clearly as there comes to the growing child a knowledge of its father's part in the world, and a sense of what real life means, there must come to every Christian whose growth is true some richer sense of the meaning of Christianity, and a larger view of Christ's purpose for mankind. To miss this is to miss the whole splendour and

* From *Luthersk Ugeskrift* (Lutheran Weekly). By Dr. E. F. B. Horn, of Christiania, one of the most erudite and accomplished scholars and preachers of the Norwegian Church.

glory of Christ's religion. *Next to losing the sense of a personal Christ, the worst evil that can befall a Christian is to have no sense of anything else.* To grow up in complacent belief that God has no business in this great groaning world of human beings except to attend to a few saved souls is the negation of all religion."

By those who live "in complacent belief that God has no business in this great groaning world of human beings except to attend to a few saved souls," he has of course the pietists in view. But the peculiar connection in which this tendency appears in the booklet by Drummond that is quoted from, deserves to be noted. We get a glimpse of a new side of Christianity, which it seems to be a task of the future to set forth in clearer light than hitherto. What does Drummond mean by that "*else*" which a Christian must necessarily have before his eye next after the personal Christ? Pietism, from its point of view, cannot understand that a Christian has permission to have anything else before his eye, and does not understand that from the old doctrinal point of view one had a right to some other conception of life. At any rate, it does not clearly appear that there may be added anything else of actual value. On the other hand Drummond is right, and perhaps gives satisfactory proof, when he says: "What Christ came here for was to make a better world. The world in which we live is an unfinished world. It is not wise, it is not happy, it is not pure, it is not good—it is not even sanitary. Humanity is little more than raw material. Almost everything has yet to be done to it. Before the days of Geology people thought the earth was finished. It is by no means finished. The work of Creation is going on. Before the spectroscope men thought the universe was finished. We know now it is just beginning. And this teeming universe of men in which we live has almost all its finer colour and beauty yet to take. Christ came to complete it. The fires of its passions were not yet cool: their heat had to be transformed into finer energies. The ideals for its future were all to shape, the forces to realise them were not yet born. The poison of its sins had met no antidote. . . . Now this was a prodigious task—to re-create the world. How was it to be done? God's way of making worlds is to make them make themselves. When He made the earth He made a rough ball of matter and supplied it with a multitude of tools to mould it into form—The raindrop to carve it, the glacier to smooth it, the river to nourish it, the flower to adorn

it. God works always with agents . . . and this was Christ's way when He undertook the finishing of Humanity. He had a vast intractable mass of matter to deal with, and He required a multitude of tools. Christ's tools were men. Hence His first business in the world was to make a collection of men. In other words, He founded a Society."

It is not difficult to see what Drummond here has in view. That "*else*" which Christ desiderated next to saving souls was "*to re-create the world.*" But what is this "*re-creation*" other than what we call cultivating, but seen from a new side as nature shaping herself? By Creation one generally understands the things in the world, or the world as a conglomeration of things. By Nature one understands the invisible activity which forms things. God Himself is the prime factor in this activity. Nature is always working; and it is not merely a circle in which only the same things again and again appear. God is constantly producing something new, but He leaves nature to produce it. Christ has given men an idea of this process. But how is the production getting on? What is the character of that *new* thing which is constantly being produced, and by which creation is unceasingly carried on so that the world may gradually become "*complete*"? We may be able to understand this by remembering that nature itself is invisible, and that God dwells "in light which no man can approach unto." Now if nature is still producing, making visible the invisible, revealing God, and if men are "*the tools*" as Drummond thinks, and he might also have added, "*the working hands*," then that can only happen if the world is filled with *symbols*. As science is finding its way into the invisible world and discovering its laws, its system, and also an infinity of relations which cannot be understood apart from earlier known laws, the human mind is penetrating deeper and deeper towards the first causes, those forces, ruling, invisible, free, personal, that are behind existence. The imagination lays hold of these and removes them from the invisible world to the visible world, by giving them symbolical visible form. All poetry, all art, is but an attempt to lead the imagination towards the invisible by means of the visible. Even the art which people turn upon themselves in giving shape to the raw material of which they are composed, cutting off their wild shoots, subduing their passions, is a symbolising by which the invisible, the divine, stamps itself on the conduct and life of the man.

OUR BOND OF UNION.

Here plainly we have that which "collects," which forms a bond of union between Christians. It is a constantly recurring misunderstanding, the supposing that it is the means of grace, the Word and Sacraments, which at the outset unite Christians and make them associate with each other. It is quite possible that in their idea and original design these means were intended for that end. Indeed, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is called "the Communion," because it may be a means of uniting. But one will never be able to point to any period in the history of the Church when the Sacrament, in a distinct fashion, has actually been able to accomplish this. For at the very moment one has shown that the Sacrament may afford a distinctive mark, the fear of hypocrisy awakes. Who knows which among the communicants are true honest Christians? The same may be said about the preaching of the Word, about prayer-meetings, about the ordinance of baptism. None of these ordinances in itself possesses qualifications for distinguishing hypocrites from true Christians, for whom alone indeed the ordinances are designed and of any blessing. On any such basis there never can be established a true and lasting fellowship, proof against doubt and misgiving. The Word and Sacraments have their greatest blessing for *the individual*, on whose salvation the efficacy of them is contingent. Indirectly, of course, they may lead to the formation of a society, but not directly. At all events they have never hitherto been able to do it. A dogmatist who only pays attention to what Drummond properly regards as the first task of Christianity, to save individual souls, and in the means of grace sees the actual factors for bringing about the result, will never be able to guard against the formation of sects, against the successive disintegration, or at least breaking up, of the Churches in private conferences. That which "collects" on the other hand is the common task, as Drummond expresses it, "to make a better world," "to re-create the world," which is by an omnipresent symbolism to reflect the divine, the invisible in the visible. Round these symbols men may be "collected," for *all can see them*, and all have certain qualifications for understanding them and being drawn to them. Yet the Sacraments, in spite of the visible in the earthly elements, cannot give any assistance in this direction, since the divine is *absolutely invisible*. On the other hand, in all the symbolism men-

tioned there is a connection established between the visible and the invisible, by which the former leads over to the latter. It is possible that originally the Sacraments have had such a meaning. But in any case the Church has not been able to maintain it.

THE DANGER OF HYPOCRISY.

When Drummond says that Christianity's *second* task is "to re-create the world," then by the "world" he must mean *all* people. But is it the case that all men will be re-created? Does not the fear of hypocrisy come in here again? To this it may be answered that here "hypocrisy" in the sense of nominal Christianity does no harm, if it is to be considered at all. One does not here penetrate so deeply into the human heart that there is any question about who is or is not a true Christian. Every cultured, unaffected man, any one who appreciates this second task of Christianity, is welcome as a sharer in the work, and even if the culture in his case perhaps gives him no information about his heart's relation to God, yet it will do no harm in this connection. It is a matter deserving of the utmost attention that Christianity is designed for all. That as a matter of fact only a minority accepts it and is saved should not trouble us in our fundamental view. It is not the matter of fact, the historical reality, which is actually of importance here, but the provisions made. "God will have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth." Christ said, "Go ye and make disciples of *all the nations*" (R. V.). From Col. i. 15-20 it is plainly seen that Christ is the central point and collection unity of all things and persons. The fact that many will not arrange themselves under Him does not prevent things from taking their course and going on in spite of their protest. Even against their wills they help on His plans. The early Church was right in opposing the Donatists when they held that the means of grace were only effectual if they were administered by true Christians. The Lutheran Church has undoubtedly held the same principle and sought to carry it out, but it will never be able, by means of its old theology, to do it without falling into a dead orthodoxy. At the same time all difficulty disappears when we come to have clearness about the metaphysics of time and space, and therewith of all nature. Nature is not outside of, but in God. Therefore all Christianity is truly, genuinely natural. And this true naturalness is attained just by the symbolism here spoken of. All art

and science are a leading up to this genuine nature, as it suits the case of men made in the image of God. When it is said that the disciples of Jesus are "the light of the world," and that Christians by their good works shall so commend themselves to the heathen that they with the direct sympathy of understanding and a feeling of kinship may see these works and so be brought to praise God, then this implies a connection between the visible and the invisible which is only made possible through a growing culture, through an appropriation of that symbolism which from time to time is introduced into the world, and little by little changes its form.

THE TRUE COLLECTING POWER.

A refined nature through which the love of God shines will restore to language that fitness for use which has gradually been lost. The old allegorising method, which after all elucidates nothing, since it can be employed with the greatest arbitrariness, seeing that the connection between the sign and the thing indicated is quite mechanical, will be succeeded by a new method of preaching founded on the relation here unfolded. The only collecting power is joy and gladness at all the revelation of God in nature, the love of the Father to the Son. Here language has its full intelligibility. By "Nature," then, one must not only understand the splendour which science, astronomy, chemistry, zoology unveils, but even the self-shaping referred to which is going on through the history of the world, and which meets us in an infinity of symbols which culture produces and which carries culture further still. All this "Nature" forms the setting of the picture of Christ, without which it could not be found or understood, just as one only manages to determine the position of the centre by the aid of certain constructions on the circumference. The godly garrulity of earlier days, which constantly named the name of Christ, and never anything else, did not lead to the understanding of Christ. He becomes by all that cheap spirituality only a phrase behind which self-conceit and hypocrisy conveniently hide. A surer if a more toilsome way is to begin at the circumference, *i.e.*, through the difficult works of culture within and without, finding lines which may lead to the centre. That work of construction can be understood by all, by a kindred feeling binding them all together.

While I have shown in this article what the "quiet revolution" is bearing in its

train, and pointed out sundry things for which we ought to be glad, yet, on the other hand, I am not blind to the dangers of one-sidedness to which this "naturalism" in theology may possibly lead. At present, to avoid prolixity, I will not mention them here. Besides, they are now tolerably well known.

If the correctness of the above is accepted, then it becomes the next task of theology to show how such an understanding of a unity between nature and spirit gives room for the similarly important truth that the spiritual life is unintelligible from a purely natural standpoint—which Drummond also admits—that what is born of the flesh is flesh—that therefore the Formula of Concord is right in declaring that there is in the natural man as such "ne scintillula quidem" of spiritual force. But that side of the subject lies outside of our present purpose.

THE FOURTEENTH CHAPTER OF GENESIS.

BY THE REV. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., PROFESSOR OF ASSYRILOGY, OXFORD.

From *The Expository Times* (Edinburgh), October, 1892.

IN an article I contributed a short while ago to THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, I referred to the fourteenth chapter of Genesis as a crucial instance in which the exaggerated scepticism of the so-called "Higher Criticism" has been confuted by the recent discoveries of Oriental archæology. At the very moment when the critic was proclaiming in the most positive tones the unhistorical character of a narrative which even Von Bohlen had allowed to be authentic, the spade of the excavator and the patient skill of the decipherer were vindicating its trustworthiness in the most complete and unexpected manner. The history of the campaign of Chedorlaomer and his allies against Palestine, which we have been told was but a projection into the distant past of the western campaigns of the Assyrian kings, has been shown to be in exact accordance with the testimony of the ancient monuments, while the account of Melchizedek, king of Salem, which the critics were unanimous in pronouncing to be mythical, has also received an unexpected confirmation from the same source.

The chief argument urged against the credibility of Chedorlaomer's campaign was the difficulty of believing that military expeditions could have been sent from Baby-

Ionia to Palestine at so early a period as that assigned to Abraham. By the side of this chief argument other arguments were but subsidiary, such as, that the political situation presupposed in the narrative of Genesis is inconsistent with all that we knew about early Babylonian history; that a Babylonian conquest of Canaan at such a date is incredible; or that the names of the Canaanitish kings are etymological plays upon the catastrophe which subsequently overwhelmed the cities of the plain. So far as the historical arguments are concerned, the cuneiform inscriptions show that it is the critic, and not the Book of Genesis, that has been at fault.

Syria and Palestine had been invaded by the armies of Babylonia long before the age to which the lifetime of Abraham can be referred. The founder of the first Semitic empire in Chaldaea was a certain Sargon of Accad in northern Babylonia, who was not only a great conqueror, but also a great patron of learning. He established a famous library in the city of Accad, and it was under his auspices that the standard Babylonian works on astrology and terrestrial omens were compiled. Nabonidos, the last king of independent Babylonia, who was a zealous antiquary, and the pioneer of modern excavators, tells us that Naram-Sin, the son and successor of Sargon, reigned 3200 years before himself, or about 3750 B.C., and the early monuments discovered in Babylonia go to show that this date cannot be far from the truth. Now, a copy has been preserved to us of the annals of the reign of Sargon and of the first portion of his son's reign, which were drawn up, it would seem, while Naram-Sin was still upon the throne, and from these we learn that Sargon not only led his armies to the shores of the Mediterranean, but actually reduced Syria and Palestine—"the land of the Amorites," as it was termed by the Babylonians—to the condition of a conquered province. Three times did he march against the Amorite land and subdue it, and on a fourth occasion "he passed over the (countries) of the sea of the setting sun, and he spent three years in conquering (all countries) in the west. He united all these lands so as to form but one empire. He erected images of himself in the west. He made the spoil pass over into the countries of the sea."

It would seem from the last sentence that Sargon made his way even into the island of Cyprus. Support for such a conclusion may be found in the fact that General di Cesnola procured there a Babylonian cylin-

der of early type, on which the owner entitles himself "a servant of the deified Naram-Sin," and the cylinder-seals of native workmanship found in the prehistoric graves of Cyprus are plainly imitations of those of archaic Babylonia. But however this may be, the words of the Babylonian text which I have quoted leave no room for doubt that Sargon established his power in the countries of "the setting sun," and on the shores of the Mediterranean. That this power was handed on to his son, Naram-Sin, is further clear from the fact that no more expeditions against the land of "the Amorites" are recorded, while Naram-Sin's second campaign was directed against the king of Magan, the name under which Midian and the Sinaitic Peninsula were known. The Babylonian troops could have marched thus far to the south only if Palestine had been secure in their rear.

A break of 1500 years occurs before we again hear of Babylonian princes in Palestine and Syria. A tablet recently discovered by Mr. Pinches gives the name and titles of Ammi-satana, a monarch of the first dynasty of Babylon, and among his titles is that of "king" of the land of "the Amorites." According to the Babylonian scribes, Ammi-satana, who belonged to the first dynasty which ruled over an united kingdom and made Babylon a capital, reigned from 2240 to 2215 B.C., and though the date may be about seventy years too high, it is quite early enough for our fourteenth chapter of Genesis.

How Ammi-satana came to be king of Syria as well as of Babylonia is explained by certain bricks found among the ruins of the temple of the sun-god at Larissa, the modern Senkerah. On these Eri-Aku, king of Larsa, calls himself the son of an Elamite, Kudur-Mabug, to whom he gives the title of "father of the land of the Amorites." What the title precisely means I cannot say; all that is plain is that Kudur-Mabug stood in a close relation to the Amorite regions of the west.

The name of Eri-Aku, "the servant of the moon-god," was transformed by his Semitic subjects into Rim-Sin. The fact that his father was an Elamite indicates that a part at least of Babylonia was at the time dependent on Elam. The kingdom of Larsa must have been under an Elamite suzerain; in no other way can we understand how its king came to be of Elamite descent, unrelated to the older rulers of the State. We learn, moreover, that he was supported on his throne by the forces of the Elamite sovereign. When Kham-

murabi, the contemporary ruler of Babylon in the north, at length succeeded in overthrowing Eri-Aku and uniting all Babylonia under a single head, he had to face not only the king of Larsa, but the king of Elam as well. Babylonian unity implied the overthrow of Elamite supremacy. Kudur-Mabug, however, was not himself the king of Elam. Had he been so, the title would have been conferred on him by his son. He was simply "the prince of Yavutbal," a frontier province, the relation of which to Elam seems to have been pretty much that of Wales to England. The actual king of Elam may have been a near relative of Kudur-Mabug; he was not Kudur-Mabug himself.

The name Kudur-Mabug signified, in the Elamite language, "the servant of the god Mabug." It was thus parallel to the name of Kudur-Nankhundi, "the servant of the goddess Nankhundi," borne by a king of Elam who made a raid into Babylonia and sacked the temple of Erech in 2285 B.C., not long after the death of Hammurabi. Nankhundi corresponded to the Semitic Ashtoreth, and, along with the god Lagamar, occupied a foremost place among the deities of Elam.

Such, then, are the facts which have been revealed to us by the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions. The yoke of Babylonia had been laid upon Canaan and Syria as far back as the remote days of Sargon of Accad, and in the very age to which Abraham belongs—if we are to give any credence to the statements of Scripture—an Elamite prince, whose son was a Chaldean king, was called the "father" of that western land, while a Babylonian monarch, a few years later, claimed to be its "king." So far from its being incredible that Babylonian armies should have marched into Palestine, and that Babylonian princes should have received tribute from Canaan in the time of Abraham, we find that Canaan had been included in a Babylonian empire centuries before, and that the arms of a Babylonian monarch had been carried even to the borders of Midian. What, then, becomes of the theory that the history of Chedorlaomer's campaign was but a reflection into the past of the "historical" campaigns of the Assyrian kings?

But more than this, the political situation presupposed by the fourteenth chapter of Genesis is precisely the same as that which the contemporaneous monuments of Babylonia assure us was actually the case. Not only according to the Book of Genesis, but also according to the monuments, Baby-

lonia was divided into more than one kingdom, and acknowledged the supremacy of Elam. When the Babylonian kings go forth to war, according to the narrative in Genesis, it is under the command of an Elamite monarch, and it is Chedorlaomer, and not the Babylonian kings, whom the Canaanites "served." This is in exact accordance with the fact that Kudur-Mabug, and not Eri-Aku, was "the father" of the land of the Amorites, and that it is only later, when the Elamite domination had been shaken off, that a Babylonian prince became its "king."

So close a correspondence between the condition of Babylonia as described in Genesis, and that in which it was at the beginning of Hammurabi's reign, suggests the question whether the age of Chedorlaomer is not also the age of Hammurabi. The question has long since been answered in the affirmative by the Assyriologists, on the strength of the more than accidental resemblance between one of the proper names recorded in Genesis and that of the son of Kudur-Mabug. Eri-Aku is letter for letter the Arioch of Scripture, and the Ellasar of Arioch can be no other than the Larsa of Eri-Aku. A scribe's carelessness could easily transform *al-Larsa*, "the city of Larsa," into the Ellasar of the Hebrew text.

Chedorlaomer would be Kudur-Lagamar in cuneiform writing. It is a name of the same character as Kudur-Mabug and Kudur-Nankhundi, Lagamar being, as we have seen, one of the chief Elamite gods. Shinar is the cuneiform Sumer, or southern Babylonia, and attempts have been made to find in the name of Hammurabi that of Amraphel. But the attempts have not been successful, and it is questionable whether the kingdom over which Amraphel ruled was really that of which Hammurabi was king. It is true, that in the later books of the Old Testament Shinar denotes the whole of Babylonia, and that Babylon accordingly is included in it; but in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, otherwise so correct in its Babylonian colouring, we should expect to find the term used in its proper sense. In this case, Amraphel of Shinar will be a king whose monuments have not as yet been met with, and the seat of whose government was in the south, and not northward in Babylon.

On "Tidal, king of nations," no light has been thrown by archaeology. Tidal appears in the Septuagint as Thorgal, which is probably a better reading than that of the Hebrew text; and Sir Henry Rawlinson has conjectured that *Goyyim*, "nations,"

is a corrupt reading for Gutium, the name under which Kurdistan, as well as what was afterwards the kingdom of Assyria, was known to the Babylonians. But Tiadal, or Tadal, also appears on the Egyptian monuments as a Hittite name, and the Que or Guans inhabited the northern part of Syria.

The account of Chedorlaomer's campaign contains two indications that it has been derived from a cuneiform document. Although Chedorlaomer is the leader of the expedition, it is, nevertheless, Amraphel, king of Shinar, who is first named at the beginning of the narrative. The narrative, in fact, is dated in his reign, a clear proof that it must be quoted from the Babylonian annals. The two Babylonian princes take precedence of their Elamite lord, as could be the case only if the story had been told by a Babylonian writer.

The other indication is the form of the names Zuzim and Ham. We learn from Deut. ii. 20 that the names ought to be Zamzummim and Ammon. The forms met in Genesis are inexplicable as long as we remain on Hebrew ground. But if once we grant that the Hebrew narrative has been copied from a cuneiform original, everything becomes intelligible. In the cuneiform system of writing, the same characters serve to express indifferently the sounds of *m* and *w*. The same group of characters might consequently be transcribed into Hebrew as either כְּזָזִים or כְּמָמִים, and the choice depended on the knowledge or caprice of the transcriber. Similarly the Hebrew *hē* and *'ayin* would be represented in cuneiform by the same characters, and it would again depend upon the transcriber whether he should write כְּזָזִים or כְּמָמִים. This accounts for the substitution of Ham for Ammi or Aminon in Gen. xiv. 5; without the assumption of a Babylonian document, such a mode of writing the name is quite inexplicable.

Oriental archaeology, working on the ancient monuments of Babylonia, has thus not only demonstrated the historical character of Chedorlaomer's campaign; it has also made it probable that the history of the campaign was faithfully transcribed from Babylonian records which were contemporaneous with the event. Can it go further, and indicate a possible period when this transcription was made?

Until recently it was supposed that the only period when a Palestinian writer would have had access to the cuneiform annals of Babylonia was that of the Captivity. But the discovery of the cuneiform tablets of Tel-el-Amarna has thrown a new light on

the matter. They have shown that in the fifteenth century before our era, when Canaan was an Egyptian province, it was, nevertheless, under the dominating influence of Babylonian culture. The early kings of Babylon had been followed by a foreign dynasty, that of the Kassites, by whom Babylonia was governed for 576 years. But the power of Babylonia continued to be felt in Canaan, and Babylonian armies were still at times to be seen on the shores of the Mediterranean. The deep and lasting influence of Babylonian culture on the populations of the west is a sure sign of their long political subjection to Babylonian authority. Even in the days when Canaan obeyed the Egyptian Pharaoh, the disaffected Amorites of the north sought the help of Babylonian arms, and the oracle of the god of Jerusalem declared that the conquests of the Babylonians should still continue. The literature of the country was Babylonian; the cities of Canaan were filled with the clay literature of Babylonia; and the complicated cuneiform syllabary was taught and learned by the Canaanite scribes. Even the deities of Babylonia were introduced into the west; Ashtoreth, the Babylonian Istar, almost supplanted the native Asherah, and temples, towns, and high places took their names from the Chaldaean deities, Ann and Anat, Rimmon and Nebo, Moloch (Malik) and Sin.

This was a time when those who were interested in the earlier history of Canaan had every opportunity of searching in the records of Babylonia for references to it. It was a time when it was possible for the kinsfolk of "Abram the Hebrew" to transcribe from the clay books of Babylonia a narrative of the events in which he had borne a part. It is therefore no longer necessary to descend to the age of the Exile in order to find a period when a Hebrew writer could consult the literature of Babylonia, and read the characters in which it was written; the century before the Exodus was one in which the literature and culture of Babylonia were brought to Canaan, and it was not needful to go to the banks of the Euphrates to study and assimilate them. Oriental archaeology has nothing to say against the supposition that the history of Chedorlaomer's campaign, such as we have it in the Book of Genesis, may have been transcribed from the cuneiform records into "the language of Canaan" in the fifteenth century before the birth of Christ.

While the first part of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis is Babylonian in character, the second part of the chapter is

purely Palestinian. Here, therefore, it might have been thought that Oriental archaeology could shed no light, at least so long as the soil of Palestine remains unexcavated. But the same Tel-el-Amarna tablets, which have revolutionised our conceptions of ancient history in so many respects, have afforded us a strange and startling commentary on the history of Melchizedek. Melchizedek has, as it were, stepped forth from behind the veil of mystery which enshrouded him, and has become an intelligible figure of history. The criticism which treated him as a myth has again been proved to have been too hasty, and its scepticism to have been unfounded.

Among the correspondents of the Egyptian Pharaohs, whose letters, written in the cuneiform characters of Babylon, have been found at Tel el-Amarna, is a veritable successor of the priest-king Melchizedek. Ebed-Tob, the king of Uru-Salim or Jerusalem, was indeed a vassal of Egypt, but he was a vassal who boasts that, unlike the other Egyptian governors in Canaan, he did not owe his position to the Egyptian monarch, nor was his royal dignity inherited: it was neither his father nor his mother, but an oracle of the god—"the mighty king"—whom he worshipped that had conferred it upon him. He was king, in short, in virtue of his office as priest of the god of Jerusalem. This god bore the name of Salim, the god of "Peace." The royal priest, accordingly, who ruled in Uru-Salim, "the city of Salim," might be called "the king of Salim" with even more truth than "king of Jerusalem." Like the descendant of David whom Isaiah beheld in prophetic vision (vii. 6) he was a "Prince of Peace."

Here, then, we have an explanation of the meeting between Melchizedek and "Abram the Hebrew." Abram had defeated the invading host which had come from the banks of the Euphrates, and he had driven the conqueror from the soil of Canaan. He had restored peace to a country of which, as the Tel el-Amarna tablets assure us, Jerusalem was already an important capital and a sacred sanctuary. Its king, the priest of the god of Peace, naturally went forth to greet him on his return from the overthrow of the foreigner, and to bless him in the name of the deity whose priest he was. It was equally natural that Abram should dedicate a portion of the spoils he had won to a God in whose presence wars and enmities had an end.

But the description given of himself by Ebed-Tob, in his letters to the Egyptian monarch, also explains the suddenness, as

it were, with which Melchizedek is introduced upon the scene. His father is unmentioned; as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says (vii. 3), he comes before us "without father, without mother, without descent." Like Ebed-Tob, it was not from his father or his mother that he inherited his royal office; he had been appointed to it by the deity whom he worshipped, and he was king because he was also priest.

The words he used in blessing Abram find their parallel in certain Aramaic inscriptions I discovered in the south of Egypt three years ago. These are in Aramaic letters of the sixth century before our era, and are cut on the sandstone rocks some four miles to the north of Silsileh, on the western bank of the Nile. They were engraved there by Semitic travellers in the close neighbourhood of a great boulder,—a Beth-el as it would have been termed in Canaan,—which we may gather from the Greek *graffiti* around it was accounted sacred. The inscriptions are as follows: "Blessed of Horus be Ezer-yobed the Shagabite;" "Blessed of Horus be Gamlan Sartsan;" "Blessed of Khnum be Abd-Nebo;" "Blessed of Khnum be Ag . . .;" "Blessed of Isis be Hagah." The formula is precisely the same as that which we find in Gen. xiv. 19 בָּרוּ אַבְרָם אֶלְيָהוּ, but it is one which is hardly known outside the pages of the Old Testament. Among the numerous Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions we possess, we find it in two only, and they are both of them from the land of Egypt. The formula, in fact, seems to be purely Canaanite, and it is possible that the inscriptions I copied near Silsileh may have been inscribed by some of the idolatrous companions of Jeremiah. The forms of the letters would well agree with such a date.

In the Tel el-Amarna tablets, as in the later Assyrian texts, the name of Jerusalem is written Uru-Salim. The meaning of the first element in the compound is given us in a lexical tablet from the library of Nineveh, where it is stated that *uru* was the equivalent of the Assyrian *alu*, "city." It was one of those Canaanite words with which the Babylonian occupation of Syria and Palestine had made the Chaldean scribes familiar, and of which, therefore, they have given explanations. The Hebrew form of the name has changed the first *waw* into *yod* in accordance with a well-known phonetic rule of the later Hebrew language.

Through Uru-Salim, "the city of Salem," was the full and proper name of the sacred city of southern Palestine, the Egyptian

monuments furnish us with evidence that the shortened form Salem was also used. On the walls of the Ramesseum at Thebes, among the Palestinian cities conquered by Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression, in the eighth year of his reign, appears the name of Shalem ; and about a century later, Ramses III. of the twentieth dynasty, in enumerating the places in the south of Canaan which had been captured by him, mentions "the highland district of Salem" along with Hadashah or "Newlands" (Josh. xv. 37), Shimshana or Ir-she-mesh (Josh. xix. 41), Karmana or Carmel of Judah, Migdal (Josh. xix. 37), Aphaqa (Josh. xv. 53), "the Spring of Khibur" or Hebron, and Beth-Anoth. We see, then, that long before the Israelitish conquest of Palestine, Jerusalem was already an important city, and a famous sanctuary. We further see that it was known by the name of Salem as well as by that of Jerusalem, and that its king was also a priest, who derived his royal dignity from an oracle of the deity, and not by right of inheritance. In every point, accordingly, the history of Melchizedek in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis receives confirmation, and the very statements, which seemed to the critic to throw doubt on its credibility, turn out to be the strongest witnesses in its favour. The fact suggests certain reflections which it would carry us too far to discuss now. One of them, however, cannot be left unnoticed. It is that just as the earlier part of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis may be shown to have been derived from a Babylonian document, so the probability is strong that the latter part of the chapter was taken from a written Canaanitish source. How else could the account, which is given us of Melchizedek, be so strikingly in accordance with what we now know to be the facts of history ? The letters written by Ebed-Tob make it clear that there were books and archives, readers and writers, in Jerusalem before the time of the Exodus, and we have no reason for thinking that the clay books were destroyed, or the literary continuity of the city interrupted. Jerusalem was never overthrown by the Israelites, and when it was at last captured by David, its own population was allowed to remain undisturbed (Josh. xv. 63 ; Judg. i. 21 ; 2 Sam. xxiv. 18, 22). Why, then, may we not believe that its ancient annals were still accessible when the materials of the Book of Genesis were compiled, and that not in the case of Jerusalem only, but also in that of other Canaanitish cities the biblical writer, or writers, had ancient documentary authority,

for the history which has been handed down ?

LEADERS OF THOUGHT IN SCOTLAND.

BY REV. ARTHUR JENKINSON.

From *The Thinker* (London), August, 1892.

I.

THE VERY REV. PRINCIPAL CAIRD, D.D., LL.D.

THE contributions made by the leading minds of Scotland to present-day problems are of special interest to all English-speaking students. I propose to give a brief account of the way in which the chief philosophical and theological questions of the age have been grasped by them. In so doing, the main problems engaging thinkers everywhere will be opened up, and the various trends of thought indicated.

I begin with Dr. Caird, the distinguished Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the Glasgow University. He occupies one of the most conspicuous places in the intellectual life of Scotland. Very many competent to judge claim him as the foremost preacher of the age. But, more than that, he is a profound and philosophical thinker. Next year he will succeed Professor Max Müller as Gifford Lecturer on Natural Theology. His *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, a second edition of which has just been issued, was declared by the late Professor T. H. Green, of Oxford, to be the most valuable book of its kind that has appeared. Principal Caird, together with his brother, Professor Edward Caird, has, for a long stretch of years, wielded an immense influence over numbers of the ablest students that have passed through the University. Hundreds of men now doing good work as teachers, professors, and ministers in various parts of the English-speaking world look up to these two thinkers with a reverence and an admiration too deep for expression. They are conscious that they gained from them, not only a deeper insight into the heart of things, but an altogether new intellectual and moral enthusiasm. It has been very largely through them that the great idealistic systems of German thought have been made known in Scotland ; and, whatever may be the ultimate outcome of that way of philosophising, they have given the most consistent exposition of those systems, have submitted them to the most pro-

found and sympathetic criticism, and their writings and teaching have been most powerful factors in the intellectual life of Scotland.

It is confessedly a difficult, well-nigh an impossible, thing to so state the leading ideas of Absolute Idealism as really to convey any conviction or intelligible meaning to one who hears them for the first time. The words may be simple enough, but what they stand for is such a great contrast to our ordinary way of thought that the whole thing remains a sealed mystery. It has been said that Hegel, recognising the failure of his predecessors to solve the problems of metaphysics, whatever position they assumed, tried the new one of standing on his head and writing with his feet in the air. It cannot, therefore, be surprising that the mind finds a difficulty in adjusting itself to the new point of view. What, however, I propose to do is to take Dr. Caird's *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, and to state, as far as can be done in this short paper, the leading or central principle of the book, and to give one or two illustrations of how it is expounded and justified. The argument does not really admit of condensation, and yet I hope its salient features may be so presented as to afford some help and guidance to the student to whom this way of ideas is new. The book is essentially Hegelian in spirit and method, and claims religion as a fit subject for philosophical inquiry in the characteristic Hegelian language: "Whatever is real is rational, and with all that is rational philosophy claims to deal." Here, then, on the second page of the book, we are face to face with Hegel's fundamental hypothesis, which, once grasped, it has been said,* will make all else fairly easy. Once see that there is no reality which is not thought, and no thought which is not reality, and you will have grasped the key to the whole of Hegel's philosophy. But that is just the difficulty. It is well, however, to see that this is really the central core of the Hegelian system. The late Professor T. H. Green thus stated the vital truth which Hegel had to teach: "That there is one Spiritual Self-conscious Being, of which all that is real is the activity or expression; that we are related to this Spiritual Being, not merely as parts of the world, which is its expression, but as partakers, in some inchoate manner, of the self consciousness through which it at once constitutes and distinguishes itself from the world; that this participation is

the source of all morality and religion: this we take to be the vital truth which Hegel had to teach." And this "vital truth" forms the grand central core of this book. Again and again it is presented as the fundamental idea. All Dr. Caird's marvellous gifts of exposition and of illustration are engaged in setting it forth, and each time it is stated some new light is thrown upon its meaning. Thus he says: "Two things may without difficulty be proved—viz., that this ultimate reality is an Absolute Spirit whose existence is presupposed in all finite existence, whose thought is the one condition of all finite thoughts; and, conversely, that it is only in communion with this Absolute Spirit or Intelligence that the finite spirit can realise itself."* Here is another statement of this vital principle: "It is only when we think of God as Absolute Spirit or Self-consciousness that we attain to an idea of His nature, which, while it gives to the finite the reality of an object ever distinguishable from, never lost in, the subject, yet refuses to it any independence or individuality which cannot be brought back to a higher unity. In the light of this idea we see that the world and man have a being and reality of their own, even that highest reality which consists in being that whereby God reveals or manifests Himself."† This, then, is the thesis of the book.

The first three chapters are occupied with objections to the scientific treatment of religion. Chapter I. deals with the objection "from the relative character of human knowledge." In it we have the answer which Absolute Idealism gives to Agnosticism, Nescience, Subjectivism, Phenomenalism, and all those thinkers of whatever other name who traffic in the Unknowable; Mr. H. Spencer, who has given the last and clearest exposition of their central doctrine, being taken as the type of them all. His position is well known; but it is necessary to state it briefly here, in order to appreciate the reply. Following Sir Wm. Hamilton and Kant, this system rests on the doctrine that the human understanding is absolutely cut off from reality. Man can only know phenomena. His rational nature is looked upon as a sort of psychical organisation, which, for aught we can tell, is peculiar to us as men, and which may, for anything we know, so distort and modify the object that what appears in consciousness is not the same as the thing in itself. "What may be the nature of objects," said

* Professor Henry Jones on Hegel, in *Modern Church*, January 14th.

Kant, "considered as things in themselves and without reference to the receptivity of our sensibility is quite unknown to us. 'We know nothing more than our mode of perceiving them, which is peculiar to us.' What we may be certain of is that the object as it appears to us is not the object as it is in itself. By becoming known it has become coloured and conditioned by the consciousness that contemplates it. And thus we are, by the constitution of our rational nature, cut off from knowledge of the real. From this necessarily springs the doctrine that the Absolute or Infinite is unknowable. The Infinite cannot be known : for it cannot, of course, be defined or limited. But to think is to limit, to define, to mark off and distinguish one thing from another. Therefore, to know the Infinite is a contradiction. And the Absolute is the unrelated ; but thought is only possible as a relation of the thing thought to the thinker : therefore, the Absolute must be unknowable. We can have a vague consciousness that the Absolute or Infinite does exist ; but that is all.

Now, after pointing out that the two elements in this doctrine—that we cannot know the Absolute, and yet may have a vague consciousness of its existence—are irreconcilable, Dr. Caird proceeds to pull down the whole edifice of agnosticism. But it is done by proving that when we examine the relation of thought to reality, of subject to object, of knowing to being, we find "that the unity expressed by these correlatives is one which is absolutely indissoluble, and that though by an abstraction we can distinguish, yet we can never divide or isolate the one from the other." The doctrine of the agnostic is founded upon an abstraction. "What is the Absolute behind thought which the theorist first sets himself to conceive, and what is that modification or degradation from reality which it undergoes by entering into thought?" There is no reality which is not a thinkable, intelligible reality. There can be no reality out of all relation to thought, without its inseparable correlate in an intelligence that thinks it. Thought and reality are inseparable correlatives, and the one can no more exist without the other than one end of a stick can exist without the other end. "It is only by a fictitious abstraction that we suppose ourselves to transcend the unity of knowing and being, and to conceive or imagine a being which exists absolutely, apart from all knowing, or which is absolutely unknowable." * This, however, must not be understood to mean that the world only

exists as we think it. It is rather the recognition of that Absolute which comprehends all finite things and thoughts, because it is itself the Unity of Thought and Being. It is manifest that nothing can have any reality for us save as it enters into thought, and, on the other hand, the thought we find in all things and beings, in nature and in man—the system of relations which we find in the order of the world, and which the man of science seeks more and more fully to understand—this we do not create, but find ; and all our movements to interpret nature go on the tacit assumption that nature is intelligible, and that the reason or thought in us can find itself in a rational system without. Thus the presupposition of knowledge is that there is an Absolute Mind realising itself in the outward system or order of the world, and subjectively in the human spirit, and that therefore nature and mind are not two independent things, but two members of one organic whole. As nature is realised mind, so mind finds itself in nature.

I have dealt very fully with this reply to Mr. H. Spencer, for in many respects it carries us really into the heart of the book. The central principle of Absolute Idealism is again very powerfully maintained in the profound chapter on the Necessity of Religion. The idea that the Absolute Spirit is the presupposition and ultimate reality is emphasized in two ways. In answer to all materialistic theories it is argued that although they profess to exclude mind, and to reduce it to a function of matter, yet they tacitly presuppose it. Experience involves something which is not given in sensation. Abstract everything but sensation and there could be no experience. All that sense can give is isolated, transient, incoherent sensations, and if nothing else were present they could never be built up into the ordered whole which we call experience. They could not yield the smallest object of real knowledge. From the first there must be present some unifying, concentrating power which can identify, relate, compare, co-ordinate sensations, and build them up into the fair fabric of knowledge. And this constant amid the variable, this unifying power, can only be the spiritual self, the self-conscious Ego. "In a word, to constitute the reality of the outward world—to make possible the minimum of knowledge, nay, the very existence for us of molecules and atoms—you must needs presuppose that thought or thinking self which some would persuade us is to be educated or evolved from them." *

But it is not enough to attain this point. We may disprove the theory of the materialist who would make mind a mere function of matter ; we may have proved that mind must have been present from the beginning, or no start could have been made at all. But this is not a proof of God or of the necessity of religion. "To have shown that thought is the *prius* of all things is not enough, unless we can further show that the thought of which we thus speak is not individual or finite thought, but that the mind is impelled onwards by its own inward dialectic until it finds its goal in a thought which is universal and absolute, a thought or intelligence on which all finite thought can rest. This is the task involved in the attempt to prove the necessity of religion."* Accordingly two positions are laid down. (1) That in the very notion of a spiritual or self-conscious being there is already involved a virtual or potential infinitude. (2) That the knowledge of a limit implies a virtual, and, in some sense, an actual transcendence of it. We are rational and spiritual beings because we have in us a power to transcend the bounds of our narrow individuality, and to find ourselves in what seems to lie beyond us. There is a vital difference between the finitude of nature and of man. The finitude of material nature is a hard and fast limitation, one individual thing limiting another : where one is the other cannot be. But the finitude of the mind gives way before its capacity to realise itself and find itself in that which seems to lie beyond. If mind could be absolutely shut up to itself it would cease to be mind. It must transcend the bounds of its own narrow life, and then it finds not a world in separation from itself ; but rather one in which the barriers are continually breaking down, and in which more and more fully it finds an indwelling reason akin to its own. What science finds in nature is not something foreign to mind, but that which is essentially rational. And if this is true with respect to outward nature, still more is it true when we turn to our social relationships. These relationships, instead of becoming a limitation upon our own lives, are really the means by which we realise the wealth of our spiritual being. In the Family, the Church, the State, our isolated individuality seems to break down, and we participate in a larger life, which is yet our true life ; so that he who knows what love, and sympathy, and trust, and loyalty mean has entered upon a fuller life, which is yet the

true and reasonable life of man. To be ourselves we must be more than ourselves. We see the same truth from a different point of view in that all knowledge rests upon the assumption of an absolute criterion of knowledge. Our whole intellectual and moral life implies the reality of a final standard, an absolute truth, a perfect goodness. Thus our nature though finite in one sense, yet bears in it the consciousness of the Infinite. "In other words, when we examine into the real significance of the rational and spiritual nature of man, we find that it involves what is virtually the consciousness of God and of our essential relation to Him." The ultimate basis of consciousness is not the consciousness of self ; for the individual's consciousness of self would have no meaning if it did not rest on a more universal consciousness which lies beneath it. The consciousness of self is given only in relation to that which is not self. Subject and object are correlatives as indivisible as the notions of outward and inward, motion and rest, parent and child. But the very fact that the two elements are inseparably related proves and rests on the consciousness that there is a unity which lies beyond the distinction. All our conscious life as individuals rests on or implies a consciousness that is universal. We cannot think, save on the presupposition of a thought or consciousness which is the unity of thought and being, or on which all individual thought and existence rest.

"Our conscious life as individuals rests on or implies a consciousness that is universal." "We might even say that, strictly speaking, it is not we that think, but the universal reason that thinks in us." "A true solution can be reached only by apprehending the Divine and the Human, the Infinite and the Finite, as moments or members of an organic whole, in which both exist in their distinction and their unity." Such are some of the forms in which Dr. Caird states the relation of the human spirit to the Divine. This is not the place to consider the difficulties that have been raised regarding what we take to be the central principle of this work. A powerful and able book has been written by Professor Seth,* in which he holds that this organic relation of the finite to the Infinite Spirit is fatal to both the personality of God and man. "Each self is a unique existence, which is perfectly *impervious*, if I may so speak, to other selves." "The unity of things cannot be properly expressed by

making it depend upon a unity of the self in all thinkers. So far from a principle of union in the sense desired, the self is in truth the *very apex of separation and differentiation.*"

But a consideration of the chapters in the *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, in which Dr. Caird points out the utter inadequacy of formal logic to express the truth of the spiritual life, would probably weaken the force of some of Professor Seth's arguments. From the point of view of the logical understanding, matter and mind, and nature, man and God are isolated from each other, each in a hard, self-identical individuality, and must be regarded as independent entities existing side by side, or only outwardly and mechanically related to each other. We are compelled to rise above such a conception. "Religion is not the pantheistic identification of the finite spirit with the Infinite; on the contrary, it is in religion that the individuality of each human spirit reaches its intensest specification. But as no adequate conception of the individual human spirit can be formed apart from its relation to other finite spirits, so must any representation of the finite spirit be inadequate and incomplete apart from its relation to the Infinite."*

That we have in this system of thought an absolutely adequate and final statement on the deepest of all problems—the relation of the human spirit to the Divine—no one who has considered the development of thought in the past will suppose. We shall await with lively interest the works we may look for both from Professor Edward Caird as well as Principal Caird, for both are Gifford Lecturers. But that we have already in the work we have been considering some of the most precious and permanent contributions to philosophical and religious thought which this age has produced, we are sure. Many difficulties will remain, many unsolved problems will still be left, even to one who has absorbed and mastered the teaching of this profound book; but we are sure that no one can earnestly read it without rising the better for the perusal, that many old doubts will cease to perplex, and that God will seem more real, and personal, and near, and human life more Divine. All who read it with attention will easily understand the profound influence which the distinguished author has had upon susceptible minds.

PROF. H. P. SMITH AND CINCINNATI PRESBYTERY.

BY JOHN JUNKIN FRANCIS, D.D.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, September 29, 1892.

ON last Wednesday, September 21st, the Presbytery of Cincinnati, by the decisive vote of *forty two to sixteen*, appointed a "Committee of Prosecution" to prepare and prosecute charges against Henry Preserved Smith, D.D., Professor in Lane Theological Seminary, based upon the teachings of his pamphlet on "Biblical Scholarship and Inspiration," and other public utterances in regard to the inspiration and trustworthiness of the Holy Scriptures. This vote, which was a vote upon the adoption of the resolution attached to the report of the Presbytery's Committee on Erroneous Teaching, unanimously recommending the appointment of such a committee, was taken at the close of a long, earnest and able discussion of the report, extending through three sessions of the Presbytery, and participated in by a large number of speakers. A significant feature of the vote was the fact that but *four laymen* in the entire Presbytery voted in the *negative*, that is, *against* the prosecution of Professor Smith.

The preliminary steps leading up to this conclusion have been taken with great deliberation and reluctance by the Presbytery, and have been characterized throughout in a remarkable degree by a spirit of kindness, patience, Christian courtesy and brotherly kindness toward Dr. Smith, and the utter absence of anything savoring of personal animosity or persecution. In the debate upon the report the fullest liberty of expression was granted, and the Presbytery by vote refused to fix a time for the vote to be taken, or to limit the time of the speakers in any way. The final vote was indeed taken by a call for the "previous question;" but this was not done until it was evident that the real discussion was ended, and there were indications of a resort to dilatory motions which could accomplish nothing except to consume time and delay action.

Eighteen months have elapsed since Dr. Smith first promulgated his objectionable views in the Presbyterian Ministerial Association of Cincinnati, arraying himself, to the surprise and regret of almost the entire Presbytery, upon the side of the modern destructive criticism. Notwithstanding this, or rather because of it, the Presbytery, a

* Pp. 190, 300.

month later, in its desire for fairness and generosity, elected him a commissioner to the General Assembly at Detroit, where he made a speech in defense of Dr. Briggs.

During the following summer and autumn the Presbytery refrained from any action, hoping to reach some satisfactory solution of the difficulties which confronted it, without having to resort to a judicial process. Dr. Smith, however, continued in various ways to express his peculiar views; and the conviction grew in the minds of the members of Presbytery, that fidelity to the truth and the highest interests of the Church required an investigation of some kind. Accordingly, on December 21st, 1891, the Presbytery, after the most mature deliberation, adopted by more than a two-thirds vote, a series of resolutions, expressing itself in full accord with the action of the Detroit Assembly, and with its deliverance in regard to erroneous teaching in the theological seminaries of the Church, on the infallibility of the Scriptures, and appointed a committee of five ministers and two ruling elders, viz., the Rev. Messrs. R. H. Leonard, D.D., A. Ritchie, D.D., John J. Francis, D.D., Thos. O. Lowe and J. M. Anderson, and Elders Francis Ferry and John Roberts, to inquire into the subject and report what further action, if any, was necessary. This now historic Committee on Erroneous Teaching met repeatedly during the winter, and sought in every way which seemed possible to solve the problem by other methods, but was compelled by its clear conviction of duty to prepare a report, recommending (1) the appointment of a committee of prosecution to formulate charges against Professor Smith, and (2) the withholding of its approval from Lane Seminary until all the faculty of that institution should be brought into harmony in their views and teachings with the accepted doctrines of the Church. This unanimous report was ready to be presented at the meeting of Presbytery last April, but when the serious illness of Dr. Smith's son was announced, the committee asked leave to withhold it until the June meeting. In June the report was presented and accepted; but owing to Dr. Smith's absence in Europe, its consideration was again postponed until the September meeting of Presbytery. It was, therefore, nine full months after the appointment of the committee before its report was taken up for consideration. Dr. Smith and the minority, of course, opposed its adoption vigorously; but it was finally adopted, as stated above, by a vote of *forty two to sixteen*.

Of the twelve ministers who voted against prosecution, three are professors in Lane Seminary, six are pastors (two of them in the city), and the other three are not pastors. All the pastors and other ministers in the city of Cincinnati present except two, voted in favor of the prosecution. After the settlement of the main question a committee was appointed to nominate the Committee of Prosecution provided for in the report. This committee proposed the names of the Rev. William McKibbin, D.D., the Rev. T. O. Lowe, and Elder Daniel H. Shields; and they were unanimously elected to conduct the case in all its stages, in the name of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Dr. McKibbin is the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Walnut Hills, the largest church in the city or the Presbytery, having a membership of 850. This church received over two hundred additions during the past year, 177 of them upon confession of their faith. The Rev. F. O. Lowe is the pastor of the Avondale Church, one of the strongest of our suburban churches, which received 50 additions last year, 35 of them upon confession of their faith. Mr. Lowe was formerly a lawyer of distinction, and a well-known judge in the courts of an adjoining county. Elder D. H. Shields is the leading elder of the Bethel Church at Murdock, one of the wisest and most highly respected elders of the Presbytery, and a member of the late General Assembly at Portland. The Presbytery adjourned to meet in the First Church, Cincinnati, on the third Monday of October, when the indictment against Professor Smith will be presented.

The Committee on Erroneous Teaching was directed to present the other part of its report, viz., in reference to Lane Seminary, at the next stated meeting in December.

CHRIST IN CREATION.

BY PRESIDENT AUGUSTUS H. STRONG, D.D.

From *The Examiner* (Bapt.), New York, October 6, 1892.

THEOLOGY is a progressive science, not because the truth itself changes, but because human apprehension and statement of the truth improve from age to age. Much depends upon the point of view. Augustine and Calvin looked at doctrine from the divine side, Arminius and Wesley, from the human side. Our age has the advantage of a point of view which includes all the good in both of these, while it ex-

cludes their errors,—we look at truth in its relation to Christ, in whom the divine and the human are indissolubly united. Theology assumes its best historic form as it becomes Christocentric, and recognizes that Christ is the truth of God and the life of man.

In furtherance of this salutary movement of our age, which has in it the elements of confession and worship, as well as of scientific interest and progress, I desire to speak of Christ in Creation. I am persuaded that Christ's work in human salvation cannot be rightly understood, unless we first consider his relation to the universe of which we form a part. The theme which I am to discuss is very infrequently treated; some of the views I present may be thought new; but the unfolding of the subject will certainly enlarge our conceptions of the unsearchable riches of Christ and convince us more fully than ever before that in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

GOD CREATES ONLY THROUGH CHRIST.

For the sake of brevity, much that might profitably be discussed at length must needs be assumed. I will only premise, therefore, that the doctrine of the Trinity is taken for granted, as well as the peculiar office of the second person of the Trinity as the Revealer of God. In the divine being there are three distinctions, which are so described to us in Scripture that we are compelled to conceive of them as persons. The second of these divine persons is called the Word of God, and it is intimated that he constitutes the principle of objectification, consciousness, intelligence, within the divine nature, and the principle of expression, manifestation, revelation, by which God is made known to other beings than himself. Christ, then, is the Reason, Wisdom, and Power of God in exercise. The Father by himself is the divine nature latent, unexpressed, unrevealed. "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." The temporal manifestation rests upon an eternal relation in God's being. In eternity Christ, the Word, is God's truth, love, and holiness, as made objective and revealed to himself. In time Christ, the Word, is God's truth, love, and holiness, as expressed, manifested, and communicated to finite creatures.

Since Christ is the principle of revelation in God, we may say that God never thought, said, or did anything except through Christ.

What is more commonly recognized as true with regard to Providence and Redemption, is also true with regard to Creation,—it is the work of Christ: "All things were made through him; and without him was not anything made that was made." "In him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him and unto him; and he is before all things, and in him all things consist." Christ is the originator and the upholder of the universe. In him, the Reason of God, the universe once existed as a merely intelligible and ideal world—a *cosmos noëtos*, to use the words of Philo. In him, the Power of God, the universe became an actual, real thing, perceptible to others; and in him it consists, or holds together, from hour to hour. The steady will of Christ constitutes the law of the universe, and makes it a cosmos instead of a chaos, just as his will brought it into being in the beginning. Creation, then, is the externalization of the divine ideas, through the will of Christ.

CHRIST'S CREATORSHIP AN ANTIDOTE TO SUBJECTIVE IDEALISM.

I have grounded Creation in the doctrine of the Trinity. I wish now to show how Christ's creatorship saves us from a pernicious form of modern idealism. The Trinity is the organization of faculty in God. It provides for the fullest self-consciousness and the fullest spiritual life. As the life of the nervous system, the life of the circulatory system, and the life of the digestive system, all go to make up the one life of the human body, so the consciousness of the Father, the consciousness of the Son, and the consciousness of the Holy Spirit, all go to make up the one self-consciousness of God. There is free divine self-determination. It follows that the universe is not a merely necessary evolution of divine ideas. Christ is the Power as well as the Wisdom of God. Subjective Idealism regards God as mind or thought, but it does not take account of him as affection or will. It gives us a merely logical, but no real, existence. It cannot show how the thought-process ever results in actual being. And subjective Idealism is equally powerless to explain the difference between thoughts and things, between the idea and its realization. It too narrowly conceives the all-embracing Reality. In God there is a principle of Will, as well as a principle of Reason.

The scriptural doctrine of Christ furnishes us with an element which subjective Idealism lacks. Christ is the Reason of God ; and as Reason, Christ has his eternal self-determinations ; these constitute the plan of the universe. But the plan is not the building : decrees are not the universe. Executive volition is also necessary. And Christ is the Will, as well as the Reason, of God ; he is not only wisdom, but power ; creation is his free and sovereign act, turning ideas into realities, making objective what was only subjective before. While the plan of creation is the product of his Reason, the actual world is the product also of his Will.

CHRIST'S CREATORSHIP AN ANTIDOTE TO PANTHEISM.

But the moment we recognize Christ as the principle of self-consciousness and of self-determination in God, we clear ourselves from Pantheism as well as from a will-less and soul-less Idealism. God is *above* all things, as well as *in* all things and *through* all things. This is what Pantheism denies. It holds to God's immanence without qualifying this by God's transcendence. It regards God as exhaustively expressed in the universe. The physical law of conservation and correlation of forces is supposed to explain everything. The new is but a natural evolution from the old, or is another form of the old. Now we grant that evolution is a great truth, but we claim that it is only a half-truth. Unless there are reserves of power, there can be no progress. Evolution, if it is to proceed toward the better, and not toward the worse, requires a power and a will over and above the process, a power and a will which communicate themselves to the system and reinforce it from time to time. Pantheism, having no such power or will to appeal to, can acknowledge no supernatural, and no miraculous, working of God. Nature is the living garment of the Deity, indeed ; but the garment is a strait-jacket from which God cannot free himself —a very Nessus shirt which consumes, even while it manifests, the deity of the wearer. The Scripture furnishes us with the antidote to this systematic identification of God with nature, by telling us that Christ is *before* all things, and that *in* him all things consist. The universe is not self-existent or eternal,—it began to be, a certain number of centuries ago. And it had its origin, as it has its subsistence from hour to hour, in the power and will of one who is as much

above it as the thinker is above his thoughts or the agent above his acts.

And this brings me to notice the other defect of Pantheism—the denial of any consciousness and will in God distinct from the consciousness and will of finite creatures. We may express this by saying that God comes to consciousness only in man, or by saying that man comes to consciousness only in God. It is all one,—man's belief that he is a separate creature is an illusion. God is the only reality and the only cause. My intuition of freedom is a mistake also,—in reality I only act out the universal will, and that will is not free. God and the universe are but obverse sides of the same great fact. The law of determinism applies in the sphere of mind, just as the law of necessity applies in the sphere of matter. Nothing *could* possibly be, but what *is*. How plain it is that such a system as this makes man a mere puppet or phantom—a product of forces over which he has no control. There is no freedom in God ; there is no responsibility or sin or guilt in man. But Christ is the antidote to this system also. The model of all virtue is evidently free, and he convinces us of our freedom. Overagainst the personal God there are personal beings. God now has living subjects. A kingdom is possible—a kingdom of duty and love.

CONCEPTION OF CREATION DEMANDED BY MODERN SCIENCE.

But what interpretation are we to put upon creation ? It is the work of Christ,—but what sort of work is it ? I think we must admit that modern physics and psychology have rendered untenable certain modes of conception which our fathers held. Matter is not the blind, dead thing, that it once was. Its qualities exist only for intelligence. We do not know it except in connection with the sensations which it causes. Atoms, without force, can *do* nothing ; atoms, without mind, can *be* nothing. Matter, therefore, is spiritual in its nature. By this I do not mean that matter *is* spirit, but only that it is the living and continual *manifestation* of spirit, just as my thoughts and volitions are a living and continual *manifestation* of myself. It does not consist simply of ideas ; for ideas, deprived of an external object and of an internal subject, are left suspended in the air. Matter exerts force, and is known only by the force which it exerts. But force is the product of *will*, working in rational ways ; and will is an attribute of *spirit*. The system of forces which we call the physical universe is

the immediate product of the mind and will of God ; and, since Christ is the mind and will of God in exercise, Christ is the Creator and Upholder of the Universe.

What is the design of the physical world ? Simply to reveal God, to communicate God's ideas, to make known God's will. The universe, in its deepest meaning, is " God's ceaseless conversation with his creatures." If things about us accomplish this result, they attain the end of their being. The inner constitution of matter is a thing of indifference. Even though the heavens were found to be essentially spiritual, they would all the more " declare the glory of God." All nature is a series of symbols setting forth the hidden truth of God. Since Christ is the only Being who can reveal this truth, the world is virtually the thought of Christ, made intelligible by the constant will of Christ. Nature is the omnipresent Christ manifesting God to creatures. The sunset clouds are painted by his hand ; the sun that lights those clouds is itself kindled by the Sun of righteousness. When the storm darkens the sky, the Hebrew poet can leave out of mind all the intermediate agencies of moisture and electricity, and can say, " The God of glory thundereth." The " Crusaders' Hymn" rightly identifies this God of glory with Jesus Christ :

" Fairest Lord Jesus, Ruler of all nature,
O thou of God and man the Son !
Thee will I worship, thee will I honor,
Thou, my soul's glory, joy, and crown !"

And the Christian poet of later times expresses the instinct of the Christian heart and the teaching of Scripture when he says :

" Earth has nothing sweet or fair,
Lovely forms or beauties rare,
But before my eyes they bring
Christ, of beauty Source and Spring."

CHRIST THE PRINCIPLE OF PHYSICAL INTERACTION.

Neither the system as a whole, nor any individual thing in the system, has the principle of its being in itself or can be understood by itself. We cannot explain the interaction between individual things unless they are all embraced within a Unitary Being who constitutes their underlying Reality. Motion cannot properly be *transferred* from one atom or one world to another. The energy of the second can be roused by the impact of the first, only upon the condition that there is a common ground in which they both subsist. When Sir

Isaac Newton discovered the law of gravitation, he discussed the question whether attraction was a pull, or a push. How can the sun pull the earth toward itself, when the earth is ninety-two millions of miles away ? How can a thing act where it is not ? Modern physicists have explained the matter by suggesting that there may be an ether which fills the intervening space. But in order that this ether may communicate both the sun's attraction and the vibrations of light, it needs to be more tenuous than the subtlest gas, and yet more solid than the hardest steel. Such a medium is utterly inconceivable. Sir Isaac Newton himself favored the opposite view, that attraction is a push, instead of a pull. From each end of the line force is operating. But how can these forces work simultaneously, regularly, and rationally unless a rational Being exerts them ? What holds together the planets of the solar system ? The Scripture answers : " In *him* all things consist" or hold together. One hand of Christ is on the sun, and another hand of Christ is on the earth. His constant will gives life and stability and order to the universe.

" His every word of grace is strong
As that which built the skies ;
The voice that rolls the stars along
Speaks all the promises."

CHRIST THE PRINCIPLE OF MENTAL INTERACTION.

Philosophy has been trying for ages to solve the problem of knowledge. How can I be sure that my sense-perceptions correspond to objective facts ; that there are other intelligent beings besides myself with whom I can communicate ; that there is any such thing as truth apart from my individual notions of it ? Here too the solution is Christ. We have seen that he is the principle of cohesion, of attraction, of interaction, in the physical universe. It is fitting that he who draws together and holds together the physical universe, should also draw together and hold together the intellectual universe. There could be no knowledge by one individual of another individual unless both of them formed part of one system of things. Knowledge is not *transferred* from one man to another, any more than motion is transferred from one planet to another. The mind is never passive in knowledge.—it is always active. Its own powers must be awakened,—it must see for itself. What I know must be distinct from myself, it is true. Even in knowing myself, I must objectify. But at the same

time there must be a bond between the knower and the known. "The two must be connected by some Being which is their Reality," and which constitutes the ground of their existence. And so we *know* in Christ, just as we live and move and have our being in him. He is not only the principle of communication between God and man, but also between man and the universe.

CHRIST THE PRINCIPLE OF LOGICAL INDUCTION.

As the attraction of gravitation, and the medium of knowledge are only other names for Christ, so Christ is the principle of induction, which permits us to argue from one part of the system to another. What we call the uniformity of nature, whether exhibited in the combining powers of the chemical elements, or in the general fact that like causes, whether physical or spiritual, produce like effects, is only the manifestation of an omnipresent mind and will. When I find one apple on the tree to be sour, I do not need to taste all the rest of the apples on that tree to know that they are sour also. The spectroscope tells me that the star Sirius has substances in common with our earth. A rational bond unites the most distant orbs of space. The universe is a thought; behind that thought is a mighty thinker; and that thinker is Christ, the Wisdom and the Power of God. Now we can apply to Christ Plato's saying that "God geometrizes," and Joseph Cook's that "the laws of nature are the habits of God." Not only may we, with Bowne, declare that "the heavens are crystallized mathematics," but we may find in Christ the mathematician. Since he is himself the truth of God, as well as the Revealer of it, the universe with all its law and rationality is Christ, just as much as your body, your face, your speech, are you. To use those words which seem so sublime, but which have come to have so little meaning to us: Christ "filleth all in all."

CHRIST THE PRINCIPLE OF EVOLUTION.

It would seem to follow, by logical necessity, that Christ is the principle of evolution. This great truth has suffered at the hands of its own advocates, by being deprived of the complementary truth which is needed to give it rationality. Darwin was able to assign no reason why the development of living forms should be upward rather than downward, toward cosmos rather than toward chaos. Apart from the need of new energy to explain increase and progress, there is need of superintending and

designing wisdom to bind past, present, and future together, and to make one age either of palaeontological or of human history the preparation and prophecy of a better age to come. The Duke of Argyll told Darwin that it seemed to him totally impossible to explain the adjustments of nature by any other agency than that of mind. "Well," said the great naturalist, "that impression has often come upon me with overpowering force,—but then, at other times, it all seems;" and then he passed his hands across his eyes, as if to indicate the passing of a vision out of sight. "It is a singular fact," says Frances Power Cobbe, "that whenever we find out *how* a thing is done, our first conviction seems to be that God did not do it." If Darwin had recognized Christ as the omnipresent life and law of the world, he would not have been obliged to pass his hands across his eyes in despair of comprehending the marks of wisdom in the universe. He who is "the same yesterday and to-day and forever" is the only solution of the harmony of age with age, even as he is the only solution of the harmony of world with world. Why can there be an evolution that is rational, useful, progressive, and that combines general uniformity with occasional unique advances? John's Gospel gives us the answer: "That which hath come into being *was life in him*."

CHRIST THE PRINCIPLE OF MORAL UNITY.

It is only Christ, furthermore, who gives moral unity to the system of things. Why am I bound to love my neighbor as myself? Because my neighbor *is* myself,—that is, has in him the same life that is in me—the life of God in Christ. The brotherhood of man is the natural correlate of the Fatherhood of God. The law of love and holiness is only the expression of the natural bond that unites the whole universe to the great source of its life and blessedness. I am bound to love myself, because of what there is of God in me; I am bound to love my neighbor as myself because God's wisdom and will are manifested equally in him. So the Christ in whom all humanity is created, and in whom all humanity consists, holds together the moral universe, drawing all men to himself and so drawing them to God. Aye, he draws together all worlds, as well as all men. Through him God "reconciles *all* things to himself, both things in heaven and things on earth." We may well address Christ as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews addresses him: "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever, and the sceptre of righteousness is the

sceptre of thy kingdom ;" or, as our modern poet sings :

" Mighty God, while angels bless thee,
May a mortal lisp thy name ?
Lord of men, as well as angels,
Thou art every creature's theme !"

A NEW ARGUMENT FOR THE EXISTENCE OF GOD.

So we have a new argument for the existence of God. The old argument proceeded from effect to cause, and looked upon the great Artificer as creating a universe outside of himself, and then fashioning and directing it from without. That argument had the disadvantage of not being able to show that the universe, at least so far as its substance is concerned, ever had a beginning. Hume said with some irreverence, yet with some plausibility, "I never saw a universe made,—did you?" And none could answer. "Yes." The new argument avoids this difficulty. It takes the analogy of the soul and its relation to the body. How do I know that my brother has a soul? I cannot see the soul. I cannot hear it. I cannot touch it. All I see, hear, or touch, is physical. Yet, knowing myself as spirit, and knowing my body as a mere instrument of my spirit, I see in my brother's face and gestures, I hear in the tones of his voice, I feel in the warm grasp of his hand, the signs of a thinking, loving, willing soul, like my own. So the whole world of nature is a sign-language. The milky-way is God's sign-manual written across the heavens. I do not need to go back to the origin of nature to prove the existence of God, any more than I need to go back to my brother's birth to prove that there is a soul behind that kindly face of his. "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge."

A manuscript of the Federal Constitution was so written that, when held at a distance, the shading of the letters and their arrangement showed the countenance of George Washington. Close at hand, the manuscript looked only like a copy of our fundamental law; viewed a few feet away, there seemed to shine through it the face of the Father of his Country. So the universe reveals God. Its laws and arrangements, narrowly inspected, have the aspect only of mechanism,—you are lost amid its intricacies. But look at it more broadly, take it all in at a glance, and a marvellous impression of system, of mind, of wisdom, of benevolence, is made upon you. Through the whole, and in the whole, and back of the whole, is the living God, of whom nature is the constant expression.

NATURE A CONTINUAL MANIFESTATION OF CHRIST.

This living God whom we see in nature is none other than Christ. Nature is *not* his body, in the sense that he is *confined* to nature. Nature *is* his body, in the sense that in nature we see him who is *above* nature, and in whom, at the same time, all things consist. This is the meaning of a famous passage in Robert Browning. Mrs. Orr, his biographer, says that the poet spoke to her in relation to his own life, and concluded by reading to her the epilogue to "Dramatis Personæ." "It will be remembered," she continues, "that the beautiful and pathetic second part of the poem is a cry of spiritual bereavement; the cry of those victims of nineteenth century skepticism for whom incarnate Love has disappeared from the universe, carrying with it the belief in God. The third part attests the continued existence of God in Christ, as mystically present to the individual soul.

'That one Face, far from vanish, rather grows,
Or decomposes but to recompose,
Become my Universe that feels and knows !'

'That Face,' said Mr. Browning, as he closed the book, 'that Face is the Face of Christ. That is how I feel him.' " With one qualification and proviso we may adopt the view of Robert Browning. Nature is an expression of the mind and will of Christ, as my face is an expression of my mind and will. Rhetorically, I can identify nature with Christ, just as I identify my face with myself. But then let us remember that behind and above my face is a personality, of which the face is but the partial and temporary manifestation. And, in like manner, let us remember, that nature is but the partial and temporary manifestation of the Christ who is not only *in* all things, but *before* all things, and *above* all things.

THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1892.

Editorial from *The Churchman* (Epis.), New York, October 29, 1892.

In every age the enemies of Christianity have loudly asserted its imminent collapse, and in every age, too, a greater or less number of timid Christians have been deeply disturbed by their baseless and blatant assertion. But Christianity exists to-day, more deeply imbedded in the thought and consciousness of the world than ever before, while its enemies have perished in fighting each other. So it will be. The strength of Christianity does not lie in its formal de-

fences. Some of these defences, doubtless, are most valuable, and we would not deprecate them. Others, it may be frankly admitted, have no real relation to its proper life and essential spirit, and must therefore gradually become atrophied in its divine development. This great fact is lost sight of by timid Christians as well as by the enemies of Christianity. They equally fail to differentiate the temporary and the accidental from the essential and the eternal. The greatest and most unanswerable evidence of Christianity is Christianity itself, its splendid history through the ages, its divine persistence of energy, its manifold forms of life, suited to all peoples and all times, its marvellous correlation of spiritual forces, its adaptations to the noblest thinking and truest aspiration of every age, and the survival in its system, through all vicissitudes, of those God-given ideals, and impulses, and millennial visions of the kingdom of heaven, that have glorified its progress ever since the Day of Pentecost. Were all the formal evidences of Christianity, in which some of us so trust, and of which most of us are so proud, swept out of existence, and their memory blotted out of the minds of men, Christianity would still remain what it is to-day, the most tremendous and potent fact in the experience of mankind. The green sod grows over the graves of countless generations, alike of the men who hoped, and the men who feared, to witness its extinction. But it still rules the world by its divine sanctions. It still sits supreme in the heart and the conscience of modern civilization, and, slightly to paraphrase Macaulay's famous sentence, it will continue to exist in undiminished splendor when some weary agnostic shall sadly sit on the highway of divine progress to sketch the ruins of a materialized civilization.

This thought, of the latent power of Christianity, derived from its relations to eternal verities, and to its divine Founder, is forcibly brought home to us as we follow the proceedings of the present General Convention. Here is a splendid body of earnest and intellectual men gathered together and patiently discussing the things pertaining to the welfare of the Church of God. It is in many respects different from previous conventions. Many distinguished men, who have given distinction to the conventions of the last generation, are absent here—waiting, in the rest of Paradise, for the consummation which they labored for on earth. Their departure was dreaded 'as making vacancies not easy to be filled. But this convention shows those vacancies filled, and well and wonderfully filled. It is safe,

and it is abundantly proper, to say that when the two Houses have sat together in council upon missionary matters, or, which is a new and most important fact, upon the educational interests of the Church, the representatives of the House of Bishops have greatly added to the estimation in which that House has been held. All too rarely has the presiding bishop taken part in the discussions of the missionary council, but who that saw him leave the chair and take the floor in behalf of missions in Mexico will forget his commanding presence, or the cultured elegance of his diction, or the overwhelming weight of his argument, which brought the hearty verdict of the assembled Churchmen in favor of adopting into the fostering care of the Board of Missions the really large body of missionary workers and Church members in Mexico? Nor can anyone who was present forget that "battle of the giants," as it was frequently called, in which, on two successive days, the Bishops of Albany and Maryland contended on the same absorbing subject. Then, too, in the general missionary work, and especially in the work among the emancipated blacks and their descendants, the oldest and the youngest of the bishops made a profound impression. It was evident that the Lower House had surrendered to the Upper House many a man who would have filled out its own glory and renown. But, on the other hand, in the deliberations of the Lower House, it has been all along evident that the places which this surrender has vacated are already well filled. The coming generation, which, indeed, is even now come, is not a whit behind its predecessors; nor are we sure that it is not well in advance of them. The debate, lasting for many hours, which ensued on the introduction of the Rev. Dr. Huntington's resolution to incorporate the four principles of the Lambeth Conference Declaration upon Christian Unity in the constitution, not only showed the mover of the resolution to be *facile princeps* in the House of Deputies, but brought into prominence a really large number, clerical and lay, who are thoroughly well qualified to preserve and to add to the dignity and the weight of so great a body as the General Convention. The progress of this debate brought into prominence, also, on the part of the entire House, a most hopeful open-mindedness and interest on the subject of Christian Unity. There were, of course, some who urged, and strongly urged, that there is little use of continuing to labor for unity, because the advances already made by Churchmen have received few responses. It may be true

that there is little or no yearning among those to whom the bishops, and now the clergy and laity of the Church, have held out the hand of reconciliation. But there certainly is a yearning for unity, to which all Churchmen must give heed. It is their marching orders ; and that is the yearning which our Lord Himself uttered in almost the last hours of His earthly life in His prayer to the Father " that they all may be one as we are."

The completion of the revision of the Prayer Book, with the discussions that have attended it, brings to the front the fact that the liturgical and historical scholarship is not a whit behind that of a previous generation, and it is quite certain that the Standard in that respect is no longer Dr. Colt's report, but Dr. Hart's report.

The Convention of 1892 has also provided the Church with a much more satisfactory Hymnal than she has ever before possessed, and for this she is greatly indebted to a member of the Lower House, the Rev. Dr. Nelson, of Western New York. The missionary zeal of the Church is shown in the creation of five new missionary jurisdictions, three of which have been most generously accepted at the hands of existing dioceses.

The election of seven missionary bishops at a single General Convention is, we believe, without precedent in the Church's history, and is a superb testimony to the zeal of her members. It is also gratifying to note that all the nominations made by the House of Bishops to these episcopates were received with universal approval by the House of Deputies, and that the required secret session for their consideration was only a matter of form. Viewed as a whole the General Convention of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two may fairly claim to be, and must certainly be adjudged to be, far in advance of any of the past twenty-five years. No party lines have shown themselves. A hearty resolve has been always and everywhere evident to labor only for that which seemed good for the cause of Christ and His Church. A profounder knowledge of the history of the Church has been exhibited. A more general appreciation of the Church's doctrine has been apparent. A larger ability for speaking extempore, and even eloquently, has marked the debates. Above all there has been a pervading sense of obligation—obligation to recall unguarded utterances, to lay aside one's personal prejudices and to promote whatever was proved by exhaustive argument to be conducive to the progress of the Church.

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE EARLY RELIGION OF ISRAEL AS SET FORTH BY BIBLICAL WRITERS AND BY MODERN CRITICAL HISTORIANS. The Baird Lecture for 1889. By JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. New York : Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.; Edinburgh & London : William Blackwood & Sons, 1892. 16mo, pp. xiv., 524, \$3.

Things have changed somewhat in Scotland since the famous trial of Professor W. R. Smith thirteen years ago. There is now a greater disposition in all branches of the Scotch Church to regard Old Testament criticism as a permissible line of investigation, to recognize the compatibility of the freest historical reconstruction with soundness of Christian faith. The example of men like Professors Cheyne and Driver has no doubt greatly contributed to produce this result ; the piety of these thoroughgoing critics cannot be called in question. The preface of Professor Robertson's work bears witness to the change of attitude in the home of the Presbyterian Church. Not only does he admit the fairness and reserve of Driver's method, but even adopts an apologetic tone : "I am quite well aware," says he, "how the current of opinion on Old Testament subjects is running ; and I am not insensible to the fact that, while some may find fault with me for giving up received views, a greater number, and some who are younger than I, will 'have me in derision' for not being abreast of the age." But he is fully persuaded in his own mind, and undertakes to maintain that the "traditional view" of the history of religion is the view of the biblical writers, and is the correct one. He pleads for common sense in criticism, leaves out of view the authority of the New Testament and the question of inspiration, and holds that the modern critics fail to do justice to the facts.

Professor Robertson desires to meet the critics on their own ground. He declares the hexateuchal criticism to be incapable of furnishing a point of departure because it has not determined the order and dates of the various documents ; because the biblical theory does not depend upon the authorship and mode of composition of the Hexateuch (the books of the Pentateuch, he says, are anonymous) ; and because the modern theory can now be taken as a whole and tested on grounds that lie apart from questions of the authorship of the books of the Hexateuch. As starting-point he takes the period B.C. 850-750, within which fall the earliest writing prophets, Amos and Hosea. Here beginning his argument he maintains that the writings of these prophets demand the supposition of a long preceding literary period and of conscious and sane historical literature. His portraiture of the period is excellent ; his style, here as elsewhere, is vigorous and bright. He opens up a question the full discussion of which would require large space, and the main lack in his argument is his failure to examine carefully the methods of ancient historical tradition. So far as regards style, Amos may have been as epoch-making as Pindar and Chaucer ; all geniuses break in a measure with their antecedents ; still, few will be disposed to deny our author's contention that a literary period of some extent lay behind the

prophets of the eighth century. Nor can exception be taken to his claim of topographical accuracy for the Old Testament writers in Palestinian matters; but the important points are, as Dr. Robertson sees, the history of the religion before Amos and the character of the historical tradition.

The possibility of trustworthy historical literature in a nation is commonly held to depend on its possession of the art of writing. Dr. Robertson adduces the recent discoveries at Tel-el Amarna to show that the Hebrews possessed this art at a very early period. It appears, indeed, that as early as the fifteenth century B.C. the Babylonian cuneiform writing was used in Canaan in letters written to the Egyptian king; but this had nothing to do with the Israelites, who were at that time not dwellers in Canaan, but wanderers on the borders of Egypt, apparently without political or intellectual relations with Egyptians, Canaanites, or Babylonians. The earliest mention of writing in the Old Testament outside of the Hexateuch is in the history of Samuel, and it is doubtful whether the art was much employed before the eighth century. The references to the early history in Amos and Hosea may certainly be explained without supposing them to be acquainted with written documents.

The whole question, says Dr. Robertson, hinges on the point whether the prophets were reformers or originators. He admits that they opposed the popular religion, and that there is an advance in religious thought within the circle of the prophets themselves; but he holds that the modern critics, in order to maintain their position (namely, that the ritual law is mostly post Mosaic, and that the prophets are the creators of the Israelitish ethical monotheism), must show that the pre-prophetic religion did not differ in general tone from that of the surrounding heathen, that there was nevertheless a real Israelitish religion, and that there was a process of development. Such development, he holds, cannot be proved, and he examines in some detail the arguments of prominent critics. Here he has brought together a great deal of interesting matter. Much that he says is excellent; see, for example, his remarks (pp. 177-179) on Sayce's theory of the origin of the names David and Moses, and his account in chapter xi. of the various theories as to the meaning of the divine name Yahweh (written by him Jahaveh). So also he writes with fulness and freshness on ethic monotheism and on the three codes (Ex. xx.-xxiii., Deuteronomy and the Levitical Code). Yet there are important points which he either fails to notice or passes over with slight and insufficient mention. One would certainly expect him to discuss, for example, the famous passage in Ezek. xlii., in which the prophet appears to say that the Levites are simply degraded priests; for if this construction of Ezekiel's words be correct, it goes far to establish the view that the Levitical ritual is a late development; and yet on this point Dr. Robertson has not one word. Another significant fact, Elisha's apparent acceptance of the calf-worship, is not satisfactorily dealt with by our author. Elijah's silence, he says, may be explained by the fact that he was wholly taken up with his attack on Baalism. But in Elisha's time Baalism had been crushed. Why, then, if the calf-worship was illegal and heretical, did not Elisha oppose it? Why does he accept it as the proper religion of the land, and, so far as appears, see in it no rebellion against the God of Israel? Many examples of this sort might be cited if our space permitted. In one word, Dr. Robertson fails to give due recognition to the facts recorded in the Old

Testament, fails to bring out the striking religious development which the history presents, and fails to do justice to the great religious genius of the prophets and of the Israelitish people.

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C. H. Toy.

THE BOOK OF JOB. By ROBERT A. WATSON, D.D. (Expositor's Bible Series.) New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1892. 8vo, pp. viii., 416, \$1.50.

No book of the Bible expresses so wonderfully the greatest questions and conflicts which have arisen in the hearts of men in all ages as does the Book of Job. It is always fresh and new; and, however complicated and intricate are the relations of men in our modern civilization, however profoundly theological or learnedly rationalistic our religious speculations become, however cultured and refined may be our society, we find our very and inmost selves portrayed in these ancient pages. Therefore to this book, as to a divinely given treasury of suggestive material, the preacher often turns when seeking for the shaft of Divine truth best fitted to reach the point at which he aims. But it is not given to every interpreter to catch the deepest thoughts of that unknown master of human nature, the inspired servant of Jehovah who penned these venerable lines, who, as Dr. Watson says, is "uncelebrated, nameless;" and if he is able to do this even imperfectly, very likely he will fail at the same time to see how the questions and problems of that time are ours, or to note the subtle and delicate resemblances to modern thought and feeling which are found in this ancient epic of the man of Uz, whose integrity stood like a rock in mid-ocean, firm against all the waves of hostile doubts and the faith-destroying trials of human reasonings. Often the most critical scholarship misses the spirit and the fire, while the homiletic commentator tells the thoughtful reader only what he can himself spin like the spider from his own bowels. True to its position in the series of which it forms one of the most interesting and profitable volumes, this book of Dr. Watson's is a charmingly suggestive one for the use of an expositor of sacred Scripture. There is a method in the order of the book, but one is not disturbed thereby. It reads like a philosophic tale, rather than an orderly commentary on the text. The skeleton is well covered with good, warm and firm flesh, well rounded and pleasing, so that the bones, which are there and which serve their purpose, are yet not unpleasantly visible. The author does not formally state his view of the book, nor does he anywhere announce with absolute exactness its purpose; but his position gradually appears to one who reads his book just as the plot of a skilfully contrived story is revealed to the reader. His interpretation is that of the reverent school of newer critics, and his position is essentially that now taken by the best interpreters of to-day. He does not definitely fix the date or the authorship of the poem, but inclines to the belief that the unknown author was an exile of the Northern Kingdom, fleeing from the sword of the Assyrian, who formed the friendship of some Arab chief and with him found in the desert a safe retreat amid the patriarchal customs and tales of times long past. The time must have been when the wisdom literature had fallen to a level of platitude, and when the official religion of both Judah and Israel had become a mere ritual, and when a new theology was needed. Then the

writer of Job sought to God, and the inspiration of the Almighty gave him the understanding thereof. Of the universal religion of God and humanity he became the heaven endowed prophet. As thus the character of the author is developed, so, too, is the purpose of the book little by little deduced, which is to show how the righteous man is called and by Divine gift is enabled to trust the righteousness of God even in the face of awful odds; how the good man is brought to confide in that Divine goodness which alone is the source of his own. But all through the book every chapter or portion of a chapter of the Book of Job, as the facile hand of the author turns them over, is made to yield a rich fruit of suggestive thought concerning family life, social life, different phases of theological reasoning, Christianity as applied to the especial needs of to-day, and all without any forced or strained application of a single text. Whether every student of Hebrew would agree with the author's deductions from the differences between the language of Job and the two Isaiahs, or whether every biblical archeologist would accept the details of his geography and ethnology, we do not presume to say; but in a brief sketch like this it has seemed best to set forth the prominent features of the book, which are its excellencies.

WESTERLY, R. I. WILLIAM C. DALAND.

THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS. By the Rev. JAMES DENNEY, B.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1892. Pp. vii., 404, 8vo, \$1.50.

This volume is the second of the fifth series of *The Expositor's Bible*, edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. It is an excellent specimen of this series of commentaries. The Revised Version forms the basis of the exposition, the corresponding part being printed before every section; but wherever it is necessary, attention is called to the original text. The exposition is practical throughout, being devotional as well as instructive. The Word is everywhere applied to the circumstances and needs of the present times, and the reader is frequently called upon to examine himself with regard to its requirements. The First Epistle is divided into sixteen sections, the Second into eight, the average length being sixteen pages. These sections, either in their entirety or in parts, can aptly be read in family worship, especially on Sundays. The print, and the make-up in general, is very good.

Of the great number of excellent expositions we will mention only the following: I. i. 3, "faith, love and hope" are depicted in a truly fascinating manner. i. 4, ὅτε is taken in the sense of "for." i. 10 is said to speak of "the bloom of Christian character," the "attitude of expectation," and the remark is very aptly appended that this "is in all probability the point on which we should find ourselves most from home, in the atmosphere of the primitive Church." ii. 5, the "clove of covetousness" is made to appear in its proper light. The whole section, ii. 1-12, is called "apologia pro vita sua," and at the close a very "practical application of this passage" is given. iv. 6, the awe-inspiring words "the Lord is an avenger in all these things" receive a very happy elucidation. iv. 9, "the principle of brotherly love," which is "of the essence of Christianity," is treated in the same way. iv. 11 sq. is shown to contain, "in a nutshell, the argument against a monastic life of idleness, against the life of the begging friar."

"If we cannot be holy at our work, it is not worth taking any trouble to be holy at other times." "If experience proves anything, it proves that nothing is worse for most people than to have nothing to do but be religious." iv. 16, "the voice of the archangel" and "the trump of God" are regarded as "in all probability the explanation of" the "shout." II. i. 9 is conceded to be "awful words;" but any attempt "to empty them of the meaning which they bear upon their face," is rejected as "false to sinful men, as well as to the apostle, and to the whole New Testament teaching." "If the Gospel, as conceived in the New Testament, has any character at all, it has the character of finality. It is God's *last word* to men. The consequences of accepting or rejecting it are final."

There are only a few expositions that we cannot approve of. We will mention three. I. v. 12 is looked upon as speaking of "two special forms of labor to which the apostle gives prominence": those "that are over you" and those that "admonish you." The former "would direct, but not conduct, the public worship, and would manage the financial affairs, and especially the charity, of the Church. They would, as a rule, be elderly men; and were called by the official name, borrowed from the Jews, of elders. They did not, in the earliest times, preach or teach; they were too old to learn that new profession." Nor were those that "admonish" teachers, but rather disciplinarians. "There is nothing expressly said about teaching the truth; that work belonged to apostles, prophets and evangelists." That the article is not repeated shows, however, that the three functions mentioned here could be, and as a rule were, performed by the same person; and *νορθεῖν* certainly includes more than the discipline. v. 19 is regarded as sanctioning, in public worship, "eruption in praise or prayer or fiery exhortation," on the part of laymen. II. ii. 3 is understood of the Jews; the "only one objection to this interpretation of the apostle's words—namely, that they have never been fulfilled," is held to be "futile," since "inspiration did not enable the apostles to write history before it happened;" and "there is hardly any prophecy in Holy Scripture which has not been in a similar way falsified, while nevertheless in its spiritual import true. The details of this prophecy of St. Paul were not verified as he anticipated, yet the soul of it was. The Advent was not just then; it was delayed till a certain moral process should be accomplished; and this was what the apostle wished the Thessalonians to understand." This, surely, is not the orthodox view.

F. W. STELLHORN.

CAPITAL UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS, O.

THE CHURCH IN GERMANY. By S. BARING-GOULD, M.A. With maps. (The National Churches Series. Edited by P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F. R. Hist. S.) New York: James Pott & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. xx., 400.

It is far from being an agreeable thing to feel obliged to pronounce a work by a reputable author utterly worthless; yet this is the judgment to which a somewhat careful examination of the work has compelled the reviewer. The judgment is severe, but it is deliberate. In this judgment, the reviewer feels sure, all intelligent students of church history of whatever party can hardly fail to coincide. Whoever takes up this volume with the

expectation of deriving from it anything like an adequate conception of German church history will be grievously disappointed, or, if his previous knowledge of the subject be insufficient to induce a feeling of disappointment, will be sadly misled. The author in his preface refers to two or three German works, only one of which, by the way, has any reputation, as if he thought that these were practically exhaustive of the available materials. He does not seem to have even taken the trouble to ascertain what had been written on the subject. He was asked, it would seem, to write a book. Time was precious. Why trouble himself about facts? A little commonplace information and a fluent pen were thought to be alone needful. The book is hastily prepared, the unwary public buys it and thinks it fine, the unfortunate reviewer who receives a free copy for notice loses his time and his temper and hastens away to the second-hand book store to trade it for something that will not cumber his shelves, and the author probably pockets a neat *honorarium*.

It may be said that the least worthless part of the volume is that contained in the first six chapters, where the author has made some little use of the first volume of Hauck's *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*; but even here the few facts stated are perverted and no sufficient idea is given of early German Christianity. He has nothing but praise for Archbishop Boniface of Mainz, and makes no due recognition of the fact that Boniface's chief work in Germany was to exterminate the old evangelical Christianity that had been widely diffused by earlier Iro-Scottish missionaries from Columban onward. He seems never to have seen the works of Ebrard, Werner, Förster and Müller on Boniface and his times. Equally ignorant does he seem to be of the great uprising of Germany against the papacy in the early part of the fourteenth century under the Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian. The influence of Marsilius of Padua and his *Defensor Pacis* is ignored. So far as is revealed by this book, the author knows nothing whatever of the great evangelical movement of the Middle Ages, of which the Waldenses and the Bohemian Brethren were representatives. No adequate account is given of the Hussite movement, and the few sentences devoted to this subject are utterly misleading. The author's representation of the Reformation of the sixteenth century is as unintelligent as it is bad-spirited. He describes Zwingli as "a man of clear and logical mind, of very disreputable life in early manhood, which had so tainted his heart that love and piety had almost died out of it, and his cold, clear intellect was unsoftened and uncontrolled. At heart a pantheist, he became the reformer of religion at Zürich. He reduced Christianity to a form of faith from which, logically, Christ might very well have been omitted. The form was complete without him." His characterization of Luther and Lutheranism is from beginning to end a caricature. The following sentences on Thomas Müntzer and Zwingli well illustrate the author's grasp of historical facts and relations and his calibre as a church historian: "Thomas Müntzer, who had been expelled from Wittenberg, went to Waldshut on the Rhine, renounced baptism, and declared for direct internal revelation. . . . Zwingli, the Zürich reformer, a man who was a pantheist in intellect, proceeded against Müntzer, caught some of his disciples and drowned them in the Rhine (1524)." He knows nothing of the Anabaptists except in connection with Müntzer and the Münster Kingdom, of which latter he gives an

amusingly ignorant account. Whatever success the author may have achieved in other departments of literature, as church historian he has certainly shown himself hopelessly ignorant and incorrigibly wrong-headed. The only thing that can be said in favor of the book is that it is handsomely printed and bound and is provided with excellent maps. It is to be hoped that so high a standard may be attained and maintained in the remaining volumes of this series of histories of "The National Churches" as to atone in a measure for this travesty of history. ALBERT H. NEWMAN.

McMASTER UNIVERSITY, TORONTO.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, with Some Account of Ancient America and the Spanish Conquest. By JOHN FISKE. 2 vols. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892. Crown 8vo, pp. xxxvi, 516; xxiv, 631, \$4.

Ancient America was a much more archaic world than the world of Europe and Asia, and presented in the time of Columbus forms of society which on the shores of the Mediterranean had ceased to exist before the city of Rome was built. Hence the intense and peculiar fascination of American archaeology and its profound importance to the student of general history. Since, then, America is, as the author affirms, the most fruitful and satisfactory field for the comparative method in the study of the progress of human society, from its earliest stages of savagery to the later stages of barbarism, his attention naturally was turned to it from the study of early European civilizations. We are thus indebted to Mr. Fiske for a most interesting, instructive, and critical work "written in all its parts from the original sources of information."

One of the objects of the writer is to give "a clear notion in outline of the character of the culture to which these people had attained at the time of the discovery," to serve as an introduction to the story of the work of discovery. The various peoples of North America from the Arctic Circle to the neighborhood of the Isthmus of Darien are passed in review, and the reader is able to form a mental picture of the continent at the time of its discovery by the Europeans in the sixteenth century. Then follows a chapter on the voyages of the Northmen, where the author argues that the Saga of Eric the Red should be accepted as history, for it is more like a plain statement of facts, reading like a ship's log, than any fanciful imaginings of Norse writers.

An explanation is made of the process by which Columbus arrived at the firm belief that by sailing not more than twenty-five hundred geographical miles west from the Canaries he would reach the coast of Japan. Every step of that explanation is sustained by documentary evidence.

It is borne in upon the reader that "the discovery of America was a gradual process, and not such a simple and instantaneous affair as is often tacitly assumed;" for Americus Vespucci died, as Columbus had died, without ever having suspected the real significance of the discoveries in which he had been concerned.

In the chapter entitled "Mundus Novus" the author, among other things, reasons out the justice of naming the newly discovered world "America." At that time "Mundus Novus" only applied to South America, for the ancients had not suspected its existence and the existence of North America

was unknown, people supposing that all that had been discovered was merely a number of islands off the coast of Asia and a part of the Asiatic coast. The suggestion came that *Mundus Novus* might very properly be named America, after its discoverer. Later, as the geography of the new world became better known, the name embraced more territory, until it finally included the whole western hemisphere. *Vespuccius's* character is defended against the charges of unfairness and falsehood made by *Las Casas* and *Herrera*, the former of whom was vexed at the world's neglect of the memory of his friend *Columbus*.

We follow with great interest the daring *Cortes* in his conquest of Mexico, as well as the course of the *Pizarros* in gaining control of the Incas and their possessions.

Perhaps the most absorbing chapter is devoted to *Las Casas* and the life-long struggle of this "Protector of the Indians" to blot out the slavery which proved the curse of the Spanish colonies, and whose direful effects are still seen and felt.

Mr. Fiske's style is, as usual, forceful, sometimes lofty, as in his eulogy of *Las Casas*' sterling character, at other times conversational and familiar. The tendency of the author is optimistic, for he tries, where possible and consistent with the historical records, to give the reader the best impression of the men treated. He disagrees with *Winsor* in the latter's scathing estimate of the character of the admiral, and bases his own opinion on the high esteem in which *Columbus* was held by the right-thinking *Las Casas*, his intimate friend. However, the deserved ill-will with which Mr. Fiske inveighs against *Fonseca*, Bishop of *Badajos*, and his minions, such as *Ovando*, *Bobadilla*, *Dávila*, and others to whom are due in large degree the outrages and misfortunes which attended the Spanish attempts to colonize, is particularly gratifying to such as have a previous acquaintance with these men.

The value and usefulness of the book is enhanced by a well-arranged index whose length indicates its thoroughness and calls attention to the number of famous men who find a place in the work.

WILLIAM K. GILLETT.
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STUDIES IN ETHICS AND RELIGION; or, Discourses, Essays and Reviews pertaining to Theism, Inspiration, Christian Ethics, and Education for the Ministry. By ALVAH HOVEY, D.D., LL.D., President of Newton Theological Institution, Boston, etc.: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1892. 8vo, pp. viii., 573, \$2 50.

The author takes us over a wide range of topics, all of "which are of present interest and worthy every Christian man's attention," and treats them all with great fairness and ability. In some cases the discussion is elaborate and complete; in others it is more or less limited by the conditions under which the essays were written and delivered. With all this variety there is a clear, distinct line of thought running through them all and binding them into one. Dr. Hovey classes them under four heads: "Theism, inspiration, Christian conduct, and education for the ministry." These are all topics which fall in the line of the author's life-work, and his treatment of them proves how admirably he is fitted for his position. The essays are marked by wide learning; by clear, vigorous, and independent thinking; by a conscientious and

studious fairness in stating the views of those who differ from him; and by a freshness and originality which adds greatly to their attractiveness and force. The author's style is admirable, and leaves no one in doubt as to his meaning.

He bases his discussion upon definitions clearly stated, and then builds his argument to its logical conclusion, a conclusion in most cases satisfactory to all the friends of truth.

In these studies the question of inspiration holds the central place, and rightly so. The preliminary essays lay the basis for its discussion and lead up to it, and the later topics are discussed and settled upon principles drawn from the inspired Word. We have here another instance or proof of the fact, that meets us everywhere, that the controversies of the present day go to the foundations. Is there a God? What are His relations to the world? Has He made known His will? Can we know what it is? What shall we do with the lessons it teaches? These are the questions more or less definitely treated in this volume.

Dr. Hovey, assuming that God is, and that He has revealed His will to us in the "sacred writings," first states what are the general features of that revelation, that it is "fragmentary, multiform, progressive and religious." Having explained and illustrated these features, he takes up the question of the inspiration of the prophets and apostles, under these heads:

"First. The object sought by the Lord in giving inspiration to the apostles and prophets.

"Second. The characteristics of this inspiration in earlier and later times.

"Third. The fruits, both direct and indirect, of this inspiration."

After a thorough and elaborate discussion of these questions, the author adds an essay upon "the nature and extent of inspiration," closing his whole study upon this topic with the following propositions:

"1. The inspiration of the Scriptures is due to the inspiration of those who wrote, compiled, or indorsed them, so that they were given place in the sacred canon.

"2. This inspiration is affirmed in the fullest sense of the original Scriptures only.

"This inspiration is predicable of every Scripture—that is, of every part of the sacred writings. These writings are God's word to men. They not only contain Divine messages, but they are such messages, and no sentence is wholly useless."

Upon this point we cannot forbear quoting the forcible and striking words of Dr. Hovey. "But what shall we say of Jesus Christ as a critic? Was He simply the child of His times? Did He bow to human tradition? Had He no spiritual insight? no penetration? no love of truth? no power to detect and expose error? Is there any reason to question the veracity of Luke when he says that Jesus at twelve years of age was found in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing and asking them questions; while all that heard were amazed at His understanding and His answers? Is there the least evidence or likelihood that His study of the sacred writings was intermitted so much as a week during the next eighteen years? or the least reason to imagine that it was not as honest and searching, as sagacious and fruitful as that of modern critics? And when, after the long period of preparation, he was at last engaged in religious teaching, what Pharisee or scribe, what Sadducee or lawyer, was able to convince of ignorance or of sin? They were amazed

at His knowledge, and put to silence by His wisdom ; and without intending to depreciate the learning of to-day, I may express my conviction that Jesus Christ was a profounder student of the Old Testament than any man since His time, and that He had a truer and deeper insight into the whole spirit and purpose of that volume than has been gained by any scholar of our day. If, then, the Old Testament account of the creation, the fall, and the deluge gives a correct idea of God's relation to the origin of the world and to the early history of mankind, Jesus Christ knew this to be the case, and we cannot wonder that He used the record as true ; but if that account properly interpreted does not furnish a correct view of God's relation to the earth and man during the first period, we are naturally surprised to find Him treating it with honor ; and the same may be said of any other part of the Old Testament."

These are timely and weighty words.

While not agreeing with the author on every point, we think he has established his propositions, and heartily commend his work as able and timely. We hope that it may have a very wide circulation, and are sure that those who read it will unite with us in thanking Dr. Hovey that he has given it to the press.

A. GOSMAN.

LAWRENCEVILLE, N. J.

PRIMARY WITNESS TO THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL.
A Series of Discourses ; also a Charge on Modern Teaching on the Canon of the Old Testament, By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrews and Fellow of Winchester College. London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1892. 8vo, pp. xiii., 333, \$2.

This book is a series of discourses mainly on certain words of the writers and speakers of the New Testament, giving a homiletical turn to each of them, but intended at the same time to present, as the title of the book declares, a body of original testimony to the historical truth of Christianity. In view of this purpose, the remarkable thing about it is the entire absence of the critical element. Bishop Wordsworth is an eminent scholar of the old type ; his knowledge of the Scriptures and of the sources of information about them is great, but he lacks the critical faculty which would enable him to separate wheat from chaff : and hence the real grounds of our faith are not those presented in his book. He makes the Old Testament witness to Christ, and there is no doubt that it does so witness. But when it speaks of the seed of the woman bruising the serpent's head : of all the families of the earth being blessed in Abraham's seed ; of the seed of David sitting on His throne forever ; of the Ruler of God's people coming out of Bethlehem : and of the Virgin bearing a son whose name was to be Immanuel : is it the result of a certain, or even of a probable interpretation, that what it speaks of in each case is the personal Messiah ? Look, e.g., at the last passage (Isa. vii. 14). The birth of this child was to be a sign to King Abaz of the truth of certain things predicted by the prophet, and these things, included in the Assyrian invasion, were to take place before the child came to years of discretion. And yet this prediction, so absolutely defined and limited in time to the immediate future, is supposed to be fulfilled in the birth of our Lord, and this fulfillment after seven hundred and fifty years is taken

as proof of the supernatural character of the prophecy, and this again is made one of the supports of faith. No surprising or alarming invasion of criticism is involved in the question, whether the passage will in any way bear this strain ; but the unquestioning citation of such witnesses is full of danger to the cause which it is meant to help.

The same simple acceptance of a traditional interpretation appears in the exposition of Rev. xx. The binding of Satan for a thousand years predicted there is taken to signify the *entire period of the Gospel dispensation from the Advent of Christ*, and the angel sent to bind him, "according to the best and most commonly received interpretation," is *Christ incarnate*. Now, whatever else may be true of the apocalypse, it is becoming pretty certain that it cannot be extended in this way over indefinite spaces and times, but that it moves within certain well-defined limits of both. Whether the two great judgments predicted in it are the chastisement of Jerusalem and the destruction of Rome, or not, those judgments are to close a period following the *Advent*, in which *Satan has been loose and rampant*, and that period is to be succeeded by this binding for a thousand years. The entire interpretation involves vague and childlike acceptance of whatever meanings of Scripture will yield the best homiletical results, which is widely different from the historical and critical interpretation now prevalent, and a book written in this spirit can hardly be a support to faith.

There is the same uncritical spirit in dealing with tradition as well as Scripture. The feast of St. Andrew is said to be given the place which it occupies in the Church calendar, because, "according to the uniform consent of ecclesiastical history, it was on this day, the 30th of November, nearly eighteen hundred years ago, that he was made perfect through martyrdom." It appears that he preached the word in Scythia and other parts of the North, and came then to Patre in Achaea, where he was crucified by the proconsul *Ægeas* ; but in order to prolong his agony, he was simply bound to the cross with cords, and from that pulpit he preached to the people, in words that make a part of this record, for two days, when at his own request the Lord relieved him from further suffering by a sudden death. After three hundred years his bones were removed with great ceremony to the magnificent church at Constantinople. With the same circumstantiality and assurance we are told of the death of St. James, the brother of our Lord, that, at a time of great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, owing to the absence of any Roman governor, he was asked by the Jewish rulers, who recognized his great influence over the people, to use his power to pacify them, and, above all, to assure them that Jesus was not the Messiah. And for this purpose they took him up to the roof of the temple, and when he refused to deny his Master, they cast him down, after which they stoned and clubbed him to death. All this occurred, "we know, very soon after he had written his epistle, probably not more than a few weeks or days." Now, the authority for these post New Testament lives of the apostles is not such as to justify anything more than the most hesitating acceptance of them, to speak very mildly, and yet they are given us among the primary witnesses to the truth of Christianity.

There is the same confidence in dealing with the mysteries of our faith. Taking as his basis the passages which speak of the creation of the world through the Son, on the one hand, and those which

tell of the incarnation, on the other, he combines them in the wonderful statement that "this great, this eternal, this universal Creator has become a subject of His own creation." "He who, forty centuries before, had created man out of the dust of the earth, and previously to that (no one can tell how long) had created the dust out of nothing . . . now Himself took man's nature. . . .

An exercise of creative power infinitely transcending every other act of creation." That is, the Incarnation was an act of self-creation. Such theologizing as this can come only from a desire to make the Scriptures yield us whatever wonders they can, in the belief that wonders nourish faith.

There is appended to the book a charge delivered to his diocesan synod by the bishop in 1891 on the criticism of the Old Testament. It has the merit of being mild and conciliatory, refuses to call names, or to accuse the critics of anything but regard for the truth, and simply warns the clergy against hasty acceptance of what the bishop feels sure will prove an exploded theory. Against it he has, however, only *a priori* objections to urge. 1. That it involves a lower theory of inspiration. But the great obstacle in the way of understanding the Bible, and the thing most prejudicial to its claims, has been a theory of inspiration too high and fanciful for the facts. 2. That the record of the early history accompanying the legislation in the Hexateuch will be very likely to go with the Law, as being the record of an age in the dim past of the compilers. A valid objection, but not without compensations. 3. The difficulty created by our Lord's recognition of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and of the Davidic authorship of certain Psalms, so that he based an important teaching in one case on the latter. There is no force in this objection, except in the single case specified from the Psalms. But it is not certain that our Lord used this language. There is good reason for questioning parts of his discourse reported in the Gospels, and no dilemma of the kind supposed can be forced on us therefore. It is not surely a question between a critical theory and a statement of Jesus, but between the theory and a possibly incorrect report of the statement.

But, after all, the answer to these objections is the inadequacy of the bishop's statement of the criticism against which they are directed. The criticism of the Pentateuch is based on its composite character, on its anachronisms, on its language, but, above all, on the fact patent to every careful and unprejudiced student, that *the history of the Jews in the other books is entirely inconsistent with the existence of any such law*. No *a priori* objection will overcome that solid and unanswerable fact.

E. P. GOULD.

EPISCOPAL DIVINITY SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA.

OBERLIN LECTURES OF 1892. THE PULPIT AND THE PEWS. By Rev. DAVID O. MEARS, D.D., Pastor of the Piedmont Congregational Church, Worcester, Mass. Oberlin, O.: Edward J. Goodrich, 1892. 12mo, pp. 128, \$1.

This little volume contains three lectures, the first of which is entitled "The Pulpit a Conserving Force;" the second, "The Limitations of the Sermon;" and the third, "The Duties and Rights of the Pews." There is also a prefatory chapter, stating the purpose of the "Oberlin Lectures," and suggesting that the modern pulpit has occasion for some readjustment with its environments.

The worldly drift of modern life, the noticeable taste for sensationalism in popular assemblies, the peculiarities of church administration and the numerous demands made on a pastor's time and strength, all call for most serious and careful thought on the part both of the minister and the layman.

In the first lecture it is maintained that the preservation of the republic depends upon its moral forces, and these can be preserved only by constant training of the public conscience. Education, literature, the press, and political partisanship are recognized as capable of mightily shaping public opinion, and as actually exerting a powerful influence on public life and morals; but they cannot be trusted as the sole educators of society, for in many instances their obvious tendency is to the demoralization of time-serving policy. To secure the highest public weal the pulpit must speak out "with the clearness and spirituality of an Isaiah among the prophets, and a Paul among the apostles of Christ." The author appeals to many notable examples of the power of a faithful preacher to control public sentiment and work great reforms. "The pulpit that has its John Knox is mightier than the throne of the frightened queen." "It was not Yale College that stemmed the tide of French infidelity in the dark days following the Revolution; but it was the pulpit of the college, under the preaching of President Dwight, that confronted and banished the skepticism and bad morals inherited from the friendly nationality that had even its honored Lafayette."

The second lecture is an admirable discussion of the true idea and scope of a sermon, and is in itself a valuable treatise on homiletics, worth more than some entire volumes. The duties, rights, and responsibilities of those who occupy the pews of our churches are strongly set forth in the concluding lecture, and ought to be read by all the members of those congregations who fail to see how they might multiply the preacher's power for good. "It is a fact not to be forgotten, that most of the preaching of the first two centuries was by laymen. The great Reformation was really the rising of the common people against the Church; and their demand was for preachers of the truths of God." "Lyman Beecher, when reminded of the power of his preaching, replied: 'I have four hundred hearers who carry out in their daily conduct the truths they hear.'

Although without a table of contents or an index, which would have added to its value, this volume is a praiseworthy addition to homiletical literature.

MILTON S. TERRY.

GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE, EVANSTON, ILL.

NOTES AND BRIEF REVIEWS, BY THE EDITOR.

Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah. By Franz Delitzsch, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Leipzig. Authorized translation from the third edition by the Rev. James Denney, B.D. In two volumes. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., no dates, 8vo, pp. ix., 520; vii., 496, \$5.) The first volume of this work appeared some time ago, but the second only recently. The attention of the reader is called to the fact that the translation is made from the *third* edition of the original, in spite of the fact that a *fourth* has appeared. As excuse for this the preface urges that the arrangement with the author had reference to the *third* edition only; but the atti-

tude of the author toward critical questions touching the authorship of the book had meanwhile changed, and it would appear that the continuance of the translation of the third edition was in the interest of those views which the author had rejected before his lamented death. It would appear to the candid like an attempt to bolster up discarded views by an unwarranted use of an honored name. Even on the basis of the statements of the present preface there is the less excuse for this translation, since it is alleged that "He made no revision of the interpretation answering to the changes in his critical positions." Besides it is a somewhat eclectic translation, and does not give a complete view of the original, since "philological discussions, which were really of the nature of *excursus*," "references to books and periodicals inaccessible to those who would be likely to use a translation," and "curiosities of interpretation which did not deserve to be remembered," have been omitted. Upon the whole, we do not think that the volume is what it ought to have been, and we are informed that one of the leading Old Testament scholars of the country has warned his pupils against the publication.

Early Bibles of America. By Rev. John Wright, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, St. Paul, Minn. (New York : Whittaker, 1892, 12mo, pp. vi., 171, \$1.50 net.) Dr. Wright has made a book which will be of interest to the Christian public rather than to specialists. It is not an easy subject, though we think that he has taken it rather too easily. We have a longing for a treatment and style such as that of Alice Morse Earle in her "Sabbath in Puritan New England," which make a series of title-pages interesting even from a literary point of view. Nevertheless the author has done a service in placing such an array of facts in popular form, and in calling attention to the phases and curiosities of Bible printing in "America"—that is, a part of the territory covered by our United States. A number of excellent facsimiles adorn the volume and add materially to its value.

The Story of the Life of Mackay of Uganda. Told for Boys. By his Sister. (New York : Armstrong & Son, 1892, 12mo, pp. vii., 338, \$1.50.) The life of Mackay, also written by his sister, which appeared some time ago, was met with an appreciative and warm welcome. It was, indeed, "a volume of intense and romantic interest." In the present volume the story is told for a younger class of readers, that the lessons of self-sacrifice, heroism and nobility may be utilized and bear fruits worthy of the example. But this book is not a rehearsal of the earlier, being entirely fresh and quite distinct. It is set off by a number of pictures, some of which will be attractive to youthful readers. To Sunday-school libraries it will be a valuable addition.

The Voice from Sinai. The Eternal Bases of the Moral Law. By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S. (New York : Thomas Whittaker, 1892, 8vo, pp. ix., 314, \$1.50.) This volume contains a series of sixteen sermons on the Ten Commandments, preached for the most part in a series delivered about a year ago in Westminster Abbey. They are published by request and because they had been greeted by a hearty welcome, both upon delivery and in the religious newspaper press; and truly they are calculated to be useful in widening circles. The application of the Word of God to

the needs of every day nowadays, with such power and fervor as that of Archdeacon Farrar, is inspiring and helpful to a degree. This volume is one of the best practical expositions, if not the best, in the language.

The Preacher's Scrapbook : Collection of 424 Short Stories and Pithy Sayings, for the Use of Busy Clergy and Teachers. By F. A. G. Eichbaum, M.A. (Milwaukee : Young Churchman Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. viii., 244, \$1. net.) As is to be expected, the quality of the contents of this volume is not equal, nevertheless some of the stories are excellent and well suited for their purpose. Besides, the book is well indexed and made as convenient for use as possible.

Lessons from the World of Matter and the World of Man. By Theodore Parker. Selected from notes of unpublished sermons; by Rufus Leighton. (Chicago : Kerr & Co., 1892, 12mo, pp. xi., 430, 50 cents. Unity Library, No. 16.) Though the preface of this volume is dated 1865, the extracts are still fresh and pithy. They present excellent materials whence to learn the spirit of the man.

History of Amulets, Charms and Talismans. A Historical Investigation into their Nature and Origin. By Michael L. Rodkinson. (New York : The Author, 1894 Second Avenue, 1892, 12mo, pp. ix., 93.) A study principally talmudic in its material, and of interest to and intelligible principally by specialists.

The Foot-Path Way. By Bradford Torrey. (Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892, pp. 245, \$1.25.) A delightful little book which, in fine literary shape, tells a story of interest to all, but especially to those having a love for the study of natural history. The un instructed will derive hence a very considerable knowledge of birds and wild flowers in a very entertaining way.

The Schoolmaster in Literature. Containing Selections from the Writings of Ascham, Molière, Fuller, Rousseau, Shenstone, Cowper, Goethe, Pestalozzi, Page, Mitford, Brontë, Hughes, Dickens, Thackeray, Irving, George Eliot, Eggleston, Thompson, and others. With an introduction by Edward Eggleston. (New York, etc. : American Book Co., 1892, 8vo, pp. 608, \$1.40.) A well-printed book of well-selected extracts from a large number of writers who have touched upon the work, practices, experiences, and doings of the "schoolmaster." It is a book of great interest and something new in the line of a history of literature. Each section is headed with a brief biographical sketch and a "characterization."

Tariff and Work. A Series of Treatises on the Tariff and the Currency. By Edward Atkinson, LL.D., Ph.D. (New York : Putnam's Sons, 1892, crown 8vo, pp. xvii., 296, \$1.25.) In this volume are collected a number of articles upon economic and financial questions, which have appeared in various papers and magazines, from the pen of this acknowledged authority. To the believer in tariff reform the book will be a veritable arsenal, containing weapons of offence and defence. Those opposed to Mr. Atkinson and his party will find here the strong points of the tariff reformer's position, upon which they may expend their efforts with a view to refutation or demolition.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Table Book and Test Problems in Mathematics.
By J. K. Ellwood, M.A., Principal of the Colfax School, Pittsburg. (New York, etc.: American Book Co., 12mo, pp. 287, \$1.)

The Westminster Question Book. International Series, 1893. A Manual for Teachers and Older Scholars. (Vol. xix. 1892, 12mo, pp. 192, 12 cents, net.)—*Our Heavenly Rest.* By Margaret Stewart Hornet. (12mo, pp. 47, 15 cents, net.)—*Our Scholars for Christ.* By Rev. R. Ballantine. (Pp. 30)—*First Steps for Little Ones; or, Primary Class Lessons.* Arranged by Israel P. Black. Pp. 15. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.)

THE NOVEMBER MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for November: Frontispiece, "Forgive me, my own, my Mariette;" "The Holy Places of Islam," by Charles Dudley Warner; "Portrait of Mary E. Wilkins;" "Jane Field" (a novel), by Mary E. Wilkins; "Nathaniel J. Wyeth, and the Struggle for Oregon," by John A. Wyeth, M.D.; "The Boy Orator of Zepata City" (a story), by Richard Harding Davis; "Along the Parisian Boulevards," by Theodore Child; "The Designers of the Fair," by F. D. Millet; "The Rivals" (a story), by Francois Coppée; "A Collection of Death-Masks," by Laurence Hutton; "The New Growth of St. Louis," by Julian Ralph; "The World of Chance" (a novel), by William Dean Howells, Conclusion; "Massinger and Ford," by James Russell Lowell; "Mr. Benjamin Franklin Gish's Ball" (a story), by M. E. M. Davis; "Flunkeyana," a visit to the portrait gallery of Brabazon Towers (full-page illustration by George du Maurier); "Editor's Easy Chair" ("A Plea for Christmas"), by George William Curtis; "In Memoriam: George William Curtis;" "Miss Mary E. Wilkins's Stories;" "Editor's Study," by Charles Dudley Warner; "Editor's Drawer."

CONTENTS of the COSMOPOLITAN for November, 1892: Frontispiece, "Mr. Gladstone;" "Japan Revisited," by Sir Edwin Arnold; "White Violets," by Edgar Fawcett; "The Drummer of Company E," by Robert Howe Fletcher; "Sylvia: To One who Praised Her," by Margaret Crosby; "A Cosmopolitan Language," by M. Q. Holyoake; "Lukari's Story," by Gertrude Atherton; "Red-wing," by Charles J. O'Malley; "The City of Hamburg," by Murat Halsted; "A Recent Visit to Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden," by William H. Rideing; "Pompeii," by Mary T. Higginson; "A Traveller from Altruria," by William Dean Howells; "The Nation," by Charlotte P. Stetson; "Art Schools of Paris," by Lucy H. Hooper; "Education for the Common People in the South,"

by George W. Cable; "A War Correspondent at the Fall of Constantinople," by Archibald Forbes; "Epping Forest," by E. E. Hale; "Growth of Great Cities," by Lewis M. Haupt; "Aerial Navigation," by John P. Holland; "Social Struggles," by Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen; "To Walt Whitman, the Man," by J. J. Piatt; "Bird Courtship," by John Burroughs; "Two Studies of the South," by Brander Matthews.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for November contains: "Victor Hugo," frontispiece; "The Grand Canal," by Henry James; "Two Backgrounds," by Edith Wharton; "Chicago's Part in the World's Fair," by Franklin MacVeagh; "Conversations and Opinions of Victor Hugo" (from unpublished papers found at Guernsey), by Octave Uzanne; "Villon," by Francis B. Gummere; "Racing in Australia," by Sidney Dickinson; "Betrothal;" "Salem Kittridge, Theologue" ("His Secular Excursion," Part II.), by Bliss Perry; "French Art" (III., "Realistic Painting"), by W. C. Brownell; "Stories of a Western Town" (IV., "Mother Emeritus"), by Octave Thanet; "Sponge and Spongers of the Florida Reef," by Kirk Munroe; "Miss Dangerous's Roses," by Thomas Nelson Page; "The Point of View."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for November: "The Story of a Child," XI.-XV., by Margaret Deland; "Mr. Jolley Allen," by W. Henry Winslow; "A New England Boyhood," V., by Edward Everett Hale; "The Marriage of Ibrahim Pasha," an episode at the court of Sultan Murad III., 1586, by Horatio F. Brown; "The Withrow Water Right" (in two parts), Part I., by Margaret Collier Graham; "An English Missal," by Lizette Woodworth Reese; "John Greenleaf Whittier," by George Edward Woodberry; "In Memory of John Greenleaf Whittier," December 17th, 1807-September 7th, 1892, by Oliver Wendell Holmes; "Whittier" ("Dying"), by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps; "Don Orsino," XXV., XXVI., by F. Marion Crawford; "Sociology in the Higher Education of Women," by Samuel W. Dike; "Four Quatrains"—"November," by Charles Washington Colemen; "Pioneering Thought," by Charlotte Fiske Bates; "For the Rain it Raineth every Day," by John B. Tabb; "The Flower of Dreams," by Edith M. Thomas; "Some Breton Folk Songs," by Theodore Bacon; "The Two Programmes of 1892;" "The Dutch Influence in America;" Comment on New Books; The Contributors' Club.

THE contents of LIPPINCOTT'S for November are as follows: "More than Kin," by Marion Harland; "The Sporting Editor," by J. B. McCormick ("Macon"); "The Homeless Thoughts," by Dora Read Goodale; "To Isabel;" "In a Gondola," by Ellen Olney Kirk; "Cricket in the United States," by George Stuart Patterson; "Corydon at the Tryst," by Frances Nathan; "A Story without a Moral," by M. Helen Fraser Lovett; "Mirage," by Edith M. Thomas; "Form in Driving," by C. Davis English; "Men of the Day," by M. Crofton.

INDEX OF PERIODICALS, OCTOBER.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

Af. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)	Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
A. H.	Andover Review.	N. H. M.	Newbery House Magazine.
Bibl. Sacr.	Bibliothea Sacra. (Quarterly.)	N. E. & Y. R.	New Englander and Yale Review.
B. Q. R.	Baptist Quarterly Review.	N. W.	The New World.
Ch. Q. R.	Church Quarterly Review.	O. D.	Our Day.
C. M. Q.	Canadian Methodist Quarterly.	O. N. T. S.	Old and New Testament Student.
C. P. R.	Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)	P. M.	Preachers' Magazine.
C. R.	Charities Review.	P. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
C. T.	Christian Thought.	P. R. R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
Ex.	Expositor.	R. Ch.	Review of the Churches.
Ex. T.	Expository Times.	R. Q. R.	Reformed Quarterly Review.
G. W.	Good Words.	S. A. H.	Sunday at Home.
H. R.	Homiletic Review.	S. M.	Sunday Magazine.
L. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.	T. Th.	The Thinker.
M. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)	T. Tr.	The Treasury.
M. H.	Missionary Herald.	Y. M.	The Young Man.

Alston Crucis, XVII., Helen Shipton, GW.
 Andover Attack on the American Board, The Latest, Ex Pres. Cyrus Hamlin, OD.
 Are there Maccabean Psalms? Harlan Creelman, ONTS.
 Asia Minor, St. Paul's First Journey in, Prof. W. M. Ramsay, M.A., Ex.
 Bavaria and its People, W. C. Preston, SM.
 Bible as a Classic, The, Prof. Moulton, RCh.
 Biblical Criticism, Modern, Rev. A. A. Pfanstiehl, RQR.
 Biblical Criticism of Our Day, The, Prof. G. H. Schodde, TTr.
 Blind Beggar, A, Rev. M. G. Pearse, GW.
 Bloomfield, Robert, Walter Bloomfield, NHM.
 Boston Monday Lectures, Joseph Cook, OD.
 Carey, The Founder of Modern Missions, Rev. D. L. Leonard, BiblSacr.
 Carlyle, A Religious Estimate of, F. L. Ferguson, PQ.
 Carlyle's Messages to Young Men, F. A. Atkins, YM.
 Catholicity, The Principles of, Rev. E. W. Sergeant, NHM.
 Catholic Public Schools, Failure of, Wayland Hoyt, D.D., OD.
 Children and Infidels, Pains and Penalties for, Nathan Green, CPR.
 Christ's Essential Sonship, S. H. Giesy, D.D., RQR.
 Christian Edification, A. J. Gordon, D.D., TTr.
 Christian Worship, Hymnology and Music in, J. M. Schick, D.D., RQR.
 Church Confederation, Prof. G. R. Crooks, D.D., HR.
 Church Movement of 1833, A Layman's Recollections of the, G. W., NHM.
 Church of Russia, The, W. A. Beardslee, MissR.
 Clergyman to Know Hebrew? Is it Necessary for a, Prof. L. W. Batten, ONTS.
 Cloister Life in the Days of Cœur de Lion, Dean of Gloucester, GW.
 Conduct of God towards Man, The, Ethical Teaching of the Book of Job Concerning, Rev. A. P. Atterbury, CT.
 Count Leo Tolstoi, E. M. L. McDougall, SM.
 Crusade in Turkey, Anti-Missionary, Rev. James Johnston, MissR.
 Darwinism, Recent Modifications of, Joseph Cook, LL.D., CT.
 Delitzsch, Franz, The Hebrew New Testament of, Rev. Gustaf Dalman, ONTS.
 Divine Covenants in the Bible, The Notion of, J. S. Candlish, D.D., ExT.
 Divisions of Themes, Hints for, Prof. G. L. Raymond, L.H.D., HR.

Duality, Rev. J. E. Walker, A.M., BiblSacr.
 Duhm's Isaiah, and the New Commentary to the Old Testament, Rev. G. A. Smith, M.A., Ex.
 Educational Evangelism, Rev. D. S. Spencer, MissR.
 Educational Problem, The, John Stahr, D.D., RQR.
 Ferry, At the, Robert Richardson, GW.
 Fire in the Valley, The, RCh.
 Future Punishment, J. H. Tharp, CPR.
 Genesis I., Prof. Huxley *versus*, C. B. Warring, Ph.D., BiblSacr.
 German Theology, Our Debt to, Rev. J. S. Banks, ExT.
 Glastonbury Abbey, H. Hayman, D.D., NHM.
 Gospel in the Pulpit, The, I. W. Howorth, CPR.
 Great English Arsenal, A. Hamish Hendry, GW.
 Greek Church and the Gospel, The, I. E. Budgett, MissR.
 Guilds of the City of London, Leaves from the History of the, Charles Welsh, F.S.A., NHM.
 Hebrew Prophets and Prophecy, R. V. Foster, CPR.
 Herod the Tetrarch: A Study of Conscience, David Brown, D.D., Ex.
 Higher Criticism, The History and Definition of, Howard Osgood, D.D., BiblSacr.
 Historicity of the Gospels, The, J. H. Barrows, D.D., HR.
 Holy Thursday in Rome, 1892, Mrs. Charles Garnett, SM.
 Homiletics, PM.
 Hope of the Universe, The, George MacDonald, LL.D., SM.
 Idea of Sacrifices, The Origin and Development of the, Rev. D. B. Lady, A.M., RQR.
 Immortality of the Soul, The, R. L. Dabney, D.D., PQ.
 Inspiration of the Scriptures, The, T. W. Chambers, D.D., RQR.
 Inventions, Revelation of, and Patents to Civilization, L. W. Serrell, CT.
 Is Crime Increasing? J. M. McKee, CPR.
 Jeju, A Modern, R. C. Reed, D.D., PQ.
 Jewish Sketches, H. Ormonde, NHM.
 Job in other Literatures, The Book of, Rev. G. S. Goodspeed, Ph.D., ONTS.
 John and His Gospel, J. G. Patton, CPR.
 Joshua, Antiquity of the Book of, Henry Hayman, D.D., TTh.
 King David and the Psalter, Canon Cheyne on, Rev. John Taylor, M.A., Ex.
 Kingdom of God, A Child's Reception of the, Rev. J. W. R. Campbell, PM.
 Laureate's Footsteps, In the, Geoffrey Winterwood, GW.

Life on an Ice-Floe, Rev. T. Wood, SM.
 Loch Etive, Pastoral Life on, William Jolly, GW.
 Man's Kinship, C. P. Duvall, CPR.
 Milton's Primaevial Man, Mary A. Woods, ExT.
 Minute Prediction and Modern Doubt, A. W. Archibald, D.D., BiblSac.
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CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 20th of each month.)

Sept. 15. General meetings of the Colored Baptists of the South at Savannah, Ga.

Sept. 20-23. Seventh General Conference of the Lutheran Church of Germany at Dresden.

Sept. 22. Jubilee celebration of the Lutheran Synod of East Pennsylvania.

Sept. 23. Thirty-fifth Anniversary of the Fulton Street, New York, Daily Noon Prayer-Meeting in the Marble Collegiate Church.

Sept. 25. Consecration in San Francisco of Rt. Rev. Gilstan P. Ropert, Roman Catholic Bishop of the Hawaiian Islands, to succeed the late Bishop Herrmann.

Sept. 26. Forty-sixth Annual Conference of the British Evangelical Alliance at Dundee. Among the topics discussed were the following: True Catholicity, the Postulates of the So-called Higher Criticism, the Atonement, Sanctification in Daily Life, the Romanizing Tendencies of the Day, How to Reach the Non-church-going People, and Foreign Missions.

Sept. 26-30. Sixth Annual Convention of the German Catholics at Newark, N. J.

Sept. 29-Oct. 2. Seventh Annual Convention of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew.

Sept. 30. Yom Kippur—Jewish Day of Atonement.

Oct. 1. Opening of the new University of Chicago.

Oct. 1-8. Ninth Annual Christian Alliance Convention in New York City.

Oct. 2. Centenary celebration of the foundation of the Baptist Missionary Society (of England) at Kettering. Southern Baptists of the United States celebrated at Louisville, Ky.

Setting apart of the first graduates of the (Protestant Episcopal) New York Training School for Deaconesses.

Oct. 4. National Free Baptist Convention at Lowell, Mass.

Oct. 4-7. Anglican Church Congress at Folkestone, England. Eighty-third Annual Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Chicago, in the First Congregational Church.

Oct. 5. Assembling of the (Triennial) General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States at Baltimore.

Oct. 5-8. First Annual Convention of the Colored Congregation of the Church of Christ at Normal, Ill.

Oct. 7. Beginning of the Sixty-second Conference of the Church of Latter-Day Saints at Salt Lake City, Utah.

Oct. 11. Dissolution of the Compact of 1870 between the General Assembly and Union Theological Seminary, New York City, by the Directors of the Seminary. This disposes of the proposal of the last General Assembly to arbitrate the differences existing between the Board of Directors of the Seminary and the General Assembly.

Oct. 12. Religious observances in all the Catholic churches of the United States in commemoration of the discovery of America.

Oct. 12-14. Lake Mohonk Indian Conference.

Oct. 12-18. Meeting of the National Council of the Congregational Church of the United States in Plymouth Church, Minneapolis.

Oct. 13 sqq. Twenty-fourth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America in Fort Wayne, Ind.

Oct. 17-20. Ministers' Institute of the Unitarian Church at Newton, Mass.

Oct. 18. Consecration of the Rt. Rev. Thomas D. Beaven, D.D. (Roman Catholic), Bishop of Springfield.

Oct. 18-20. Universalist Church Conference for 1892 in Buffalo, N. Y.

The Rev. George H. Kinsolving, D.D., of Philadelphia, has been consecrated Assistant Bishop (Protestant Episcopal) of Texas.

The Rev. T. A. Newnham is to become (Anglican) Bishop of Moosonee (Canada), in the place of Bishop Horden, who has resigned.

Dr. Rupp has been elected to a professorship in the Seminary of the Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pa.

It is announced that the Rev. George C. Lorimer, D.D., of Boston, has been called to succeed the Rev. F. B. Meyer at Regent's Park Chapel, London.

Rev. A. Van der Lippe, D.D., has been installed as Professor of Systematic Theology in the German Presbyterian Seminary at Dubuque, Ia.

The new General of the Jesuits is a Spaniard—"Father Martin."

OBITUARY.

Allen, Rev. Richard H. (Presbyterian), D.D., in Pittsburgh, September 28, aged 71. He was educated at Centre College, Danville, Ky., studied law, and was admitted to the bar, 1844; left the practice of law and was licensed to preach, 1847; was called to Jefferson City, Mo., the same year; devoted himself to missionary work in Missouri, 1849; accepted pastorate in Jeffersonville and Lafayette, Ind., 1852; went to New Orleans for work, 1861; accepted call to pastorate of Second Presbyterian Church, Nashville, Tenn., 1865; became pastor of the Pine Street Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, 1867; resigned that charge to become Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Missions to Freedmen, 1880, which position he held at the time of his death.

Barrows, Rev. Charles Dana (Congregational), D.D., at Worcester, Mass., September 15, aged 49. He was graduated from Dartmouth College, 1864; was principal of Fryeburg Academy, 1864-68; was graduated from Andover Theological Seminary, 1871; became pastor of Kirk Street Church, Lowell, the same year; was called to the First Church, San Francisco, as successor of Dr. Stone, 1881; resigned his pastorate and came East, 1890.

He was for several years editor of the *Overland Monthly*, and until his health failed was very influential on the Pacific coast.

Howard, Cardinal, in Brighton, England, September 22, aged 63. He was formerly an officer in the Second Life Guards of the English army, in that capacity leading the funeral cortège of the Duke of Wellington in 1852. Shortly after (1855) he took orders in the Romish Church and was sent to India. In 1865 he was appointed Arch-Priest's Vicar in the Basilica of St. Peter; was appointed Bishop of Neo-Caesarea, and coadjutor Bishop of Frascati, 1872. He was created Cardinal by Pius IX., 1877; and in 1881 was nominated Arch-Priest of St. Peter's and Prefect of the Congregation. He was an accomplished linguist, speaking Arabic, Armenian, and Russian.

Lansing, Rev. Gulian (United Presbyterian), D.D., in Cairo, Egypt, September 12, aged 67. Dr. Lansing was graduated from Union College, 1848; and from Newburg U. P. Theological Seminary, 1851; he was sent as missionary to Damascus, whence he was transferred to Egypt in 1857. He spent his entire life in missionary service, and was known as an Arabic scholar second only to Dr. Van Dyke. He was especially influential in Egypt, having frequently to plead the cause of and represent missions at the court of the Khedive. It is supposed that he had discovered a repository of very ancient manuscripts of the Hebrew text of the Bible.

Longfellow, Rev. Samuel (Unitarian), in Cambridge, Mass., October 5, aged 73. He was graduated from Harvard College, 1839, and from the Divinity School, 1846; was ordained and became pastor at Fall River, 1848; went as pastor to Second Unitarian Society, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1853, resigning his charge there in 1860; took charge of the church at Germantown, Pa., 1878, holding it until 1882. He then returned to Cambridge and wrote the biography (in three volumes) of his brother, the poet. In 1846 he published, in conjunction with Samuel Johnson, a "Book of Hymns," which a punning humorist called "The Book of Sams;" and later (1864) brought out "Hymns of the Spirit," many of the hymns in which were his own compositions.

Medley, Most Rev. John (Anglican), D.D. (Union College and College of New Jersey), LL.D., at Fredericton, Canada, September 14, aged 88. He was educated at Wadham College, Oxford, graduating B.A., 1826, and M.A., 1830; became curate of Southleigh, 1828; incumbent of St. John's, Truro, Cornwall, 1831; and Vicar of St. Thomas's, Exeter, 1838; was consecrated Bishop of Fredericton, 1845. He was Metropolitan of Canada, and his diocese included the entire province of New Brunswick.

O'Mahoney, Rt. Rev. Timothy (Roman Catholic), Auxiliary Bishop of Toronto, at Toronto, September 8, aged 70. He entered the priesthood, 1849; was created first Bishop of Armidale, South Australia, by Pius IX.; was compelled to retire from that field on account of sickness; came to Canada, 1879, where he was soon acknowledged by Archbishop Lynch. He was placed in charge of St. Paul's parish, and remained in that position till his death.

Renan, Joseph Ernst, Member of French Academy (1878), in Paris, October 2, aged 69. He was educated at the seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris, where he distinguished himself as a student of the Semitic languages; he was intended for the priesthood, but soon abandoned that field on account of independent tendencies; an essay on Greek by him was crowned by the Institute in 1845, and in 1848 he gained the Volney prize by his "Histoire générale et systèmes comparés des langues Sémitiques," published 1855; he was appointed Professor of Hebrew at the College of France, 1862, but in consequence of the appearance of his "Life of Jesus," in 1863, he was dismissed and was not reinstated till 1870; he became Rector of the College of France, 1883; meanwhile, in 1860, he was appointed to the Legion of Honor, and in 1884 was made a commander of the same. His published works are exceedingly numerous, among the most celebrated being the "Life of Jesus," mentioned above, and the following parts of the series upon the "History of the Origins of Christianity," including "The Apostles," "Saint Paul and His Mission," "Anti-Christ," "The Gospels and the Second Generation of Christians," "Marcus Aurelius and the End of the Ancient World," "The History of the People of Israel till the Time of David," and "The History of the People of Israel before the Birth of Christ." Other less noted, though still important works by him were the Hibbert Lectures for 1880, delivered in French, on "The Influence of the Institutions, Thought, and Culture of Rome on Christianity, and the Development of the Catholic Church," and his autobiography. His "Life of Jesus" was classed with Strauss' "Life of Christ," as being two books more than any others antagonistic to and subversive of the faith of the Evangelical Church.

Warren, Rev. Israel P. (Congregationalist), D.D. (Iowa College, 1868), at Portland, Me., October 9, aged 78. He was graduated from Yale College, 1838; became pastor of the Congregational Church in Granby, 1842; served in the pastorate also in Mt. Carmel and Plymouth; was for a number of years Corresponding Secretary of the Seaman's Friend Society, New York; became editor for the American Tract Society in Boston; resigned to enter the publishing business; became editor of

the *Christian Mirror*, which position he held at the time of his death. He was the author of a "Chronological Harmony of the Four Gospels," "Jerusalem, Ancient and Modern," "Snow-Flakes: A Chapter from Nature," "Sunday-School Commentary: Gospels and Acts," and numerous other works, but especially important was his "The Parousia: Study of Scripture Doctrines of Christ's Second Coming."

CALENDAR.

Nov. 1. Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

Nov. 7-10. Free Church Congress in Manchester, England. The following is the programme: Monday, opening of Congress with a Sermon by Rev. Principal Edwards, of Bala Seminary; Tuesday, papers by Principal Randles and Principal Culross—"The Church," by Principal Reynolds, on "The Sacraments;" by Rev. Thomas Sherwood, on "The Fellowship," and public meeting in the evening, with addresses by Drs. Clifford and Gibson and the Rev. C. A. Berry; Wednesday's topic, "The Influence of the Churches in the Home and Foreign Mission Fields;" paper on "The Churches and the Lapsed Population," by the Rev. John Smith; on "Town Problems," by Mr. Percy Bunting; on "The Rural Districts," by the Rev. J. E. Clapham, and on "Foreign Missions," by the Rev. Charles Williams; addresses by Mr. Albert Spicer and the Rev. W. J. Townsend; Thursday's topic, "The Influence of the Churches on National Life," with address on "Intemperance," by Rev. John Smith; on "Social Morality," by Rev. Hugh Price Hughes; on "Peace and Arbitration," by Mr. T. Snape, and on "Industrial Questions," by Rev. J. Guinness Rogers. The Congress will close with a communion service presided over by Dr. MacLaren.

Nov. 9. Meeting of the General Missionary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore.

Nov. 10-16. Seventh Annual Convention of Christian Workers in the United States and Canada in Tremont Temple, Boston.

Nov. 16. Meeting of the Archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. The most important subject to be considered is the education of the children of that Church.

Dec. 3. Meeting of the National Prison Association at Baltimore. Among the speakers will be the Rev. Dr. H. L. Wayland, President Shurman of Cornell, Professor Charlton T. Lewis, ex President Hayes, the Governor of Maryland, and the Mayor of Baltimore.

Dec. 28-Jan. 4. Decennial Missionary Conference of India, at Bombay

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